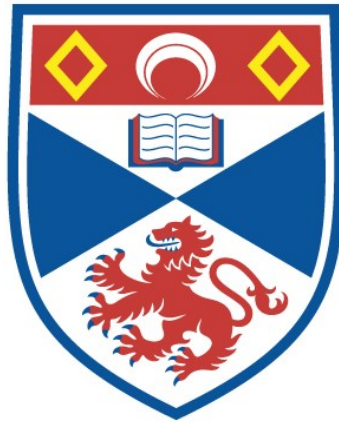


THE HEBREW TRADITION OF 'HOLY WAR', WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE QUMRAN 'BATTLE SCROLL'

James Whitton

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



1979

Full metadata for this item is available in
St Andrews Research Repository
at:
<http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/>

Please use this identifier to cite or link to this item:
<http://hdl.handle.net/10023/13518>

This item is protected by original copyright

Precis

At the outset it is necessary to examine the origins and development of holy war in the Old Testament. Here aspects of war practice form the basis of an extensive conceptual and ideological presentation.

Sacral ordinances govern the inauguration, conduct and conclusion of battle. The sacral nature of war is seen in the characterisation of the warrior-state as one of ritual purity and consecration.

Essential for the *raison d'être* of holy war is the portrayal of Yahweh as warrior. The ideology of holy war is epitomised in the concept: "the battle is the Lord's". The Old Testament presentation reaches its climax in the liturgical emphasis of 2 Chronicles 20.

That holy war could be revived at a much later period is seen in the historical circumstances of the Maccabaeen Revolt. In the accounts of First and Second Maccabees there is evidence of the taking up of the constant elements of the Old Testament holy war tradition.

A central feature for the writer of First Maccabees is the pre-battle assembly at Mizpah. The contingent of Hasidaeans in the Maccabaeen army indicates a revival of the concept of the consecrated warrior. In the Maccabaeen narratives great importance attaches to war-speech, prayer and appeal for divine help.

As a military manual the Qumran Battle Scroll is without parallel in Hebrew literature. Most notably the compilation combines a sacerdotal emphasis with practical details of military organisation and procedure. An eschatological tone predominates.

The sacral character of the war and cultic requirements for the warriors are indicated. Divine intervention is also evident.

Motifs and concepts of the Old Testament holy war tradition as well as aspects of ancient war practice are taken up. At the same time substantial development and extension of the Old Testament material is presented. The following features are unique: the elaborate system of trumpet signals, the combined use of trumpets and horns in battle, the provision of inscriptions, the role of priests in battle, hymnic and liturgical material, and a cosmic-apocalyptic dimension which portrays a battle-force of angels and men.

Certain aspects of the Scroll's emphasis may reflect the historical situation in the Maccabaeen/Hasmonaeen period. P.R. Davies has shown that much of the literary material of the Scroll has its source and background in the Maccabaeen and post-Maccabaeen period. Examination of First and Second Maccabees reveals a number of definite links between Maccabaeen warfare and 1 QM.

ProQuest Number: 10166516

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10166516

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the following thesis is based on the results of research carried out by myself, that it is my own composition and that it has not previously been presented for a Higher Degree. The research was carried out at the University of St. Andrews under the supervision of Principal Matthew Black.

CERTIFICATE

I certify that James Whitton has fulfilled the conditions of the resolution of the University Court, 1967 (Ph.D) No. 1, and that he is qualified to submit this thesis in application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

THE HEBREW TRADITION OF "HOLY WAR"
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE QUMRAN "BATTLE SCROLL"



Th 9245

PREFACE

I wish to express my appreciation of the privilege of studying under the personal direction of Principal Matthew Black.

I would especially acknowledge Principal Black's invaluable guidance and constant encouragement.

I am grateful to Professor William McKane, St Mary's College, for his considerate reading of the Old Testament section, and for his practical advice and valued opinion on several specific points.

I am indebted to Philip R. Davies for allowing me to see his unpublished notes on "Holy War and the First Book of Maccabees", and more especially for his literary analysis of 1 QM, without which the present study could not have been undertaken.

I wish to thank Gwilym H. Jones for making available a copy of his extremely useful thesis on the prophetic oracles.

The helpful co-operation of the library staff of the Universities of St Andrews and Glasgow is readily acknowledged.

For the photocopying process I am especially grateful for the expert and expeditious help of Mr C.M.F. Ewing and Mr H. Matthew, Larkhall.

J.W.

Selected Bibliography

- F.-M. Abel Les Livres des Maccabées, 1949.
- M. Avi-Yonah The War of the "Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness" and Maccabaeen Warfare, Israel Exploration Journal, 2 1952.
- J. Becker Das Heil Gottes, Studien zur Umwelt des N.T., Band 3 1964.
- M. Black The Scrolls and Christian Origins, 1961.
- P.C. Craigie Ancient Semitic War Poetry (M.Th., Thesis, Aberdeen), 1968.
- F.M. Cross, Jr. The Divine Warrior in Israel's Early Cult, Philip W. Lown Institute of advanced Judaic Studies, ed. A. Altmann, Biblical Motifs, 1966.
- P.R. Davies 1 QM, the War Scroll from Qumran : Its Structure and History, 1977.
- W.R. Farmer Maccabees, Zealots and Josephus, 1956.
- J.H. Hayes The Oracles against the Nations in the Old Testament : their Usage and Theological Importance, 1964.
- The Usage of Oracles against Foreign Nations in Ancient Israel, Journal of Biblical Literature, 87 1968 pp 81-92.
- M. Hengel Die Zeloten, 1961.
- G.H. Jones An Examination of some leading Motifs in the Prophetic Oracles against Foreign Nations, 1972.
- E. Lohse Märtyrer und Gottesknecht, Forschungen zur Religion und Literature des Alten und Neuen Testament, New Series 46, 1955.
- B.B. Margulis Studies in the Oracles against the Nations, 1967.
- P.D. Miller, Jr. The Divine Warrior in Early Israel, Harvard Semitic Monographs 5, 1973.
- P. von der Osten-Sacken Gott und Belial, Studien zur Umwelt des N.T., Band 6 1969.
- J. van der Ploeg Le Rouleau de la Guerre, 1959.
- G. von Rad Old Testament Theology, vols. 1 & 2, 1962.
- Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel, 4te Aufl. 1965.
- R. Smend Yahweh War and Tribal Confederation, E.T. 1970.
- F. Stolz Jahwehs un Israels Kriege, 1972.
- R. de Vaux Ancient Israel, E.T. 1961.
- M. Weippert Heiliger Krieg in Israel und Assyrien, Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 84 1972.
- Y. Yadin The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness, 1962.

The Hebrew tradition of "Holy War"
with special reference to the Qumran "Battle Scroll"

PART ONE

The practice and theory of holy war in the Old Testament

I	The meaning and scope of holy war	1
II	Holy war practices and concepts	14
III	Warrior asceticism	34
IV	The literary and ideological presentation of Yahweh as Lord of war	46
	Additional Note A	62
	Additional Note B	66
	Additional Note C	71
	Additional Note D	74
	Additional Note E	76
	Additional Note F	79

PART TWO

The revival of holy war in the Maccabaeian period

	Preliminary considerations	80
I	Pre-battle rites and practices	83
II	Maccabaeian war speeches	90
III	Character and composition of the Maccabaeian army	94
IV	Characterisation of the Maccabaeian warriors	102
V	Moralistic and theological overtones	108
VI	Divine intervention and human participation	112

PART THREE

The Qumran Battle Scroll and the tradition-history of holy war

Introductory statement	126
I Character of the 1 QM army : evidence of ancient war procedure	126
Table A	138
II Character of the 1 QM army : revival of warrior asceticism	140
III Moralistic and theological overtones	149
IV Battle address and war liturgy	160
Additional Note G	181
V The concept of Yahweh as divine warrior	183
Summary of holy war tradition-elements in 1 QM	189

PART FOUR

Maccabaeen warfare and the Qumran Battle Scroll

Introduction	196
I Character of Maccabaeen and Qumran warfare	201
Table B	212
Table C	213
II Characterisation of the Maccabaeen and Qumran warriors	214
III Moralistic and theological overtones	218
IV Battle address and war liturgy	225
V The concept of Yahweh as warrior	232
Conclusion	238
Tradition-history of holy war :	
Table of recurring practices and motifs	239
Textual references	243

THE PRACTICE AND THEORY OF HOLY WAR IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

I The Meaning and Scope of Holy War

Definition

F. Steiner observes that "the 'holy' is the core of the problems of the Hebrew Bible" (1). A correct understanding therefore of the concept of the "holy" in Hebrew warfare should at the outset help to clarify the commonly accepted phrase "holy war" and preclude any ambiguity concerning its use in connection with Old Testament wars.

In the phrase "holy war" most writers find an acceptable and convenient expression by which to denote the character of ancient Israelite warfare. The phrase is particularly apt insofar as it associates Old Testament warfare with the sphere of the "holy" (sc. cultic holiness). It is important therefore to distinguish holy war from "religious war" or "war of religion", that is, from the idea of war fought primarily in the defence of, or, for the promulgation of a religious faith. In the phrase "holy war" "holy" is not so much a religious as a cultic or ritualistic concept. Holy war, as will be shown, entails cultic preparation, in its pursuance strict adherence to cultic regulations, and, for the individual warrior, cultic and indeed ascetic sanctions, the outcome of battle depending more upon these factors than upon armaments and the military capabilities of men and armies.

G. von Rad (2) indicates that "the Israel of the period of the Judges found itself in the state of 'primitive pansacrality' (Buber, Mose 1948 p.176), that is, it lived in a conceptual world in which the whole area of life was sacrally bound". More particularly von Rad defines holy war as "an eminently cultic activity", and quotes Wellhausen: "the war camp, the cradle of the nation, was also the oldest sanctuary; there was Israel and there was Yahweh" (3). Von Rad has to acknowledge that war as a cultic institution never appeared perfectly in its real and intended form historically, but notes pertinently that however partial the undertakings may have been they contained ideally in each instance the prototype of holy war (4). Reference may also be made to F. Schwally who describes Old Testament war as an "extension of the cult" (5), and to M. Hengel who notes similarly that holy war was a "fortgesetzter Gottesdienst" bound up with ritual requirements (6).

A more critical assessment of war as a sacral institution of ancient Israel is made by G. Fohrer (7). Proceeding from the correct assumption

that the whole of Israelite life was cultically permeated, Fohrer states:

Like everything in life, the conduct of war was surrounded by religious conceptions and accompanied by religious rites. But these do not make it a "holy" war and a sacral institution any more than the religious conceptions, rites and formulas that surround birth, weaning, marriage, death and sheep-shearing make them holy. A "holy" war as a sacral institution of the ancient period is nothing more than the result of a late systematization of the actual religious conduct of an earlier cultural stage, conditioned by religious hostility to everything alien. One can speak of a "war of Yahweh" only in those cases in which the Israelites believed Yahweh had personally intervened in the battle. Since these were exceptional cases, we are usually faced with nothing more than the fact that the practices associated with the conduct of war were included in the general religious permeation of life.

Fohrer does less than justice to the importance of the Hebrew experience of war. His generalising statements detract from the distinctive and essentially sacral character of Hebrew warfare, and from the fundamental belief in the active presence of Yahweh in battle. Moreover, the practice of war necessitated a more comprehensive system of cultic rites, regulations and sanctions, than did the tabu-categories relating to the everyday life of the individual. Thus, although all life was indeed sacrally bound, war stood out from all other aspects of life as the sphere in which a right relationship with Yahweh was crucially important.

W. Eichrodt finds the idea of relationship with Yahweh to be central for our understanding of war and the warrior in ancient Israel:

Holy war belongs to an age in which men were aware of being in an especially close relationship with the exalted God, and of experiencing his saving presence (8).

Von Rad rightly asserts that "holiness" derives from contact with Yahweh, and notes the observation of H. Ringgren that the term indicates a relationship more than a quality (9). The ancient warrior, therefore, being in a state of "special cultic immediacy to Yahweh" (10) is essentially a "consecrated" person in the strictest sense. (Vide infra, III).

A different line of approach is presented by J. Pedersen, who regards holy war as a "psychic contest", and the warrior-state as one of "increased psychic strength" (11).

The character of Old Testament warfare is also closely connected with the concept of Yahweh as warrior (vide infra, IV).

According to von Rad the decisive action in holy war was Yahweh's (12). War is essentially the sphere of Yahweh's saving activity. L. Köhler sees this as the reason for war being "holy" (13). R. de Vaux, following von Rad, notes that Israel's wars were Yahweh's wars (14).

This aspect is taken up particularly by R. Smend. Smend's definitive phrase "Yahweh war" has the merit of focussing attention on Yahweh's action in war. For Smend, however, "Yahweh war" does not seem to be co-terminous with "holy war" --- note for example his statement that the Song of Miriam (Ex 15.21) is "Yahweh war and only secondarily holy war" (15). "Yahweh war" for Smend means Yahweh's exclusive activity in battle. Primarily, therefore, because of his emphasis on this (undoubtedly important) element in Old Testament war, Smend tends to underestimate the role of cultic ordinances: "one should not" he writes, "associate the war of Yahweh in its essence with the cultus" (16). Thus he rejects von Rad's basic premiss that war is essentially a cultic institution (17). (It must be noted that for Smend the fundamental contrast is between "Yahweh war" and the supposed "amphictyonic" war --- vide infra pp. 4, 62-63). Because of its specific emphasis the term "Yahweh war" might seem less useful as a description or definition of Old Testament warfare.

Terminology

Although the Hebrew Bible itself has no explicit term for "holy war", we may come near to such a definitive term in a limited number of prophetic passages where the Pi'el of קדש is used in a technical phrase meaning "to inaugurate" or "declare war" (literally, "to consecrate war against");

Jer 6.4

Joel 3.9 (H 4.9)

Mic 3.5

$\text{קדש} \text{על} \text{ה} \text{מלחמה}$
 $\text{קדש} \text{על} \text{ה} \text{מלחמה}$
 $\text{וקדש} \text{על} \text{ה} \text{מלחמה}$ (18).

Despite its late appearance the phrase may be considered in effect to describe something of the essential nature of ancient Hebrew warfare, especially with reference to the sacral character of the consecrated warrior (vide infra, III), for indeed it is the warrior himself who has to become and remain "qādhōsh" for battle. Note the specific references:

Jer 51.27 & 28

Jer 22.7

$\text{קדש} \text{על} \text{ה} \text{גוים}$
 $\text{וקדש} \text{על} \text{ה} \text{מלחמה}$

(NEB translates the latter passage: "I will dedicate an armed host to fight against you").

The concept of holy war may to some extent be reflected in the phrase $\text{ספר} \text{ה} \text{מלחמות} \text{יהוה}$. The unique reference to the "Book of the wars of Yahweh" (Nu 21.14) along with the reference to the crossing of

the Sea (presumably an indication of the kind of material contained in that book), clearly points to Yahweh's saving action in war. On the other hand, the use of the phrase in 1 Samuel 18.17; 25.28, with reference to David "fighting the battles of Yahweh", indicates the other essential aspect of holy war, namely, the role of the human warrior.

The exclusive action of Yahweh in battle is explicit in the variant expressions:

, לַיהוָה הַגִּלְחָה (1 Sam 17.47)

. כִּי לֹא לָכֶם הַגִּלְחָה כִּי לַאֲלֹהִים (2 Chr 20.15)

Such phraseology, although hardly constituting technical formulae for a definition of holy war, nevertheless provide useful and practical guidelines for the understanding of the content and connotation of the concept.

Historical scope and application of holy war

In his critical study of the development of the war concept in the Old Testament G. von Rad designates the period from the Deborah-Barak battle to the rise of "Israel" under Saul as the time of historical holy wars (19), and proposes as the first two characteristics of such wars, the appearance of a sacral tribal confederacy ("amphictyony" (20)), and, the exclusively defensive nature of holy war (21). Von Rad doubts moreover whether all the wars of the period were in fact "holy" wars (22).

Several writers are critical of von Rad on these points and consider his views unnecessarily restrictive (vide infra pp 62-65, Additional Note A).

In particular, it is important to see a greater extension of the practice of holy war into the period of the Monarchy.

Although substantial military developments take place during this time, we must ask if this necessarily entails the abandonment of the principles and practices of holy war. It will be useful, therefore, at this point to note salient features of the character and organisation of early Hebrew armies and to evaluate (in relation to holy war) the changes brought about during the Monarchy.

Character and organisation of early Hebrew armies

For the earliest Hebrew wars the Old Testament provides evidence of a very primitive military organisation. The Song of Deborah indicates that the tribal warriors had neither shield nor spear (Ju 5.8; contrast the reference to sword in Ju 4.15,16), and that commanders rode on asses or went on foot (Ju 5.10,15). The tribal warrior Shamgar used an ox goad as a weapon (Ju 3.31). Even at the beginning of Saul's reign weapons were unobtainable. Metal-production was a monopoly of the Philistines (23).

The military unpreparedness of the Hebrew tribes is reflected in the alarm and despondency felt at the initial prospect of the well-fortified cities of Canaan (Nu 13.28; Dt 1.28) and the menace of Canaanite chariotry (Josh 11.4; 17.16ff; Ju 1.19; 4.3,13; 1 Sam 13.5-7; 2 Sam 1.6).

Another primitive feature of Hebrew and Israelite warfare is the apparent absence of any organisation of food supplies for warriors on active service (Ju 8.5,8; 1 Sam 17.17,18; 21.3,6; 22.10; note also 1 Sam 14.31f). Several passages illustrate how David's troops were dependent on gifts of food (1 Sam 25.8b,11,18; 2 Sam 16.1f; 17.27ff; 19.32; 1 Chr 12.39f). By contrast, we read in 2 Kings 3.9b that the combined armies of the Kings of Israel, Judah and Edom took cattle with them on their expedition against Moab.

With reference to mobilisation, accounts reflecting the situation in the period of the Judges picture a voluntary militia organised on a tribal basis. Under this primitive system an individual tribe might decline to answer the call to arms (Ju 5.15b-17; cf v 23), while another tribe might complain at not having been invited to take part in military action (Ju 8.1; 12.1).

R. de Vaux considers that army units were based on those of society and notes that the term for a thousand-man unit (אלף) can also apply to a family or clan (Ju 6.15; 1 Sam 23.23) (24). M. Noth asserts on the contrary that the grouping of men in thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens, devised according to Exodus 18.21,25 and Deuteronomy 1.15 for judicial administration, derives not from judicial ideas but from the organisation of the military levy (25).

An important feature in the narratives of the Judges is the character of the war leader. For the wars of this period the army commander is invariably a leader chosen by Yahweh --- according to the stereotyped Deuteronomistic framework-formula (26), a "deliverer"

raised up by Yahweh. Such charismatic war leaders are : Othniel (Ju 3.9f), Ehud (Ju 3.15), Shamgar (Ju 3.31), Deborah (Ju 4.4; 5.7), Gideon (Ju 6.12-16,34) and Samson (Ju 13.5 --- although he is nowhere described as leading an army). Mention is also made of unnamed "Judges" (Ju 2.16,18). Certain elements of the Jephthah narrative point to charismatic leadership (Ju 11.9b,11b,29,30ff) although he is appointed war leader by the elders of Gilead (Ju 11.6,8,11a).

Military development during the Monarchy

It has generally been accepted that the establishment of the Monarchy brought about the following changes in the character and organisation of the armies of Israel:

the recruitment and maintenance of a standing army of professional and mercenary soldiers in contrast to the ancient cultic levy of militia volunteers (27);

the function of King as commander in place of the charismatic war leader;

ultimately, under Solomon (28), and to a lesser extent under David, the mechanisation of warfare with the introduction of chariot divisions.

We may ask if such inevitable and external changes affected the established theory and practice of cultic warfare as radically as some writers assume (29). Thus, a re-assessment and possibly some modification of the commonly accepted position is necessary. To this end the following considerations may be pertinent.

Organisation of the army

Firstly, it may be stated in general that changes in the organisation of the army do not in themselves imply or necessitate a change in the essentially sacral nature of Hebrew and Israelite warfare. Nor does the emergence of Israel as a nation and as a Kingdom (which was in fact the fundamental change vis-à-vis the original tribal structure of pre-monarchal times) necessarily affect or alter the intrinsic religious character and quality of the ancient concept of war. This point is all the more relevant if we do not regard tribal confederation or "amphictyony" as the exclusive sphere of holy war (vide supra p 4 & infra 62-63). Thus, while most writers acknowledge in some measure a continuance of the practice of holy war in the time Saul and David, it may tentatively be suggested that more significance should be attached to the ancient institution as an ideological and

conceptual force not only at the beginning but at specific periods throughout the Monarchy (30). Further, it is hoped to show that elements of the praxis of holy war could be deliberately revived in subsequent history and especially at times and in circumstances of national crisis. To this extent, therefore, we are confronted not so much with a tendency to "secularisation" but with the development of a distinct spiritualisation, and this, it will be argued, has its source and origin in the ancient Yahwistic faith and in the concepts of holy war inseparably bound up with the traditions of that faith.

Standing army and militia

The distinction between the standing army of trained professional warriors and the cultic levy of the people's militia is mainly one of tactical usage and military requirement: for relatively minor engagements units of the standing army alone might suffice, on the other hand, for critical encounters and full-scale war every available unit would be pressed into service. It is in the latter contingency that we see the effective combination of standing army and militia (vide infra pp 66-70, Additional Note B).

A fundamental distinction between standing army and militia may be questioned on another count. There is no evidence to show that the professional soldier did not subscribe to the sacral requirements of holy war. Von Rad poses the question: "Were there two concepts of war, profane for the professionals and sacral for the cultic levy?" (31). The evidence which does present itself would not seem to support such a suggestion. Thus, it is significant that David's captain, the Hittite Uriah (obviously a mercenary in the royal service), was fully aware of the obligation of cultic chastity which bound the warrior during the course of a campaign (2 Sam 11.8-13). David's "young men", it is clear, were similarly bound (1 Sam 21.4f). Furthermore, it is evident that both Saul and David offended against established (and therefore currently accepted) holy war regulations and concepts (1 Sam 15; cf 13.9-14; 2 Sam 24.1-9). Attention may also be drawn to the encouragement speech addressed by Joab to the standing army at the beginning of the Ammonite campaign (2 Sam 10.12); a link with the ancient war-speech tradition is apparent here (32).

Mention may also be made of the opinion of M. Weippert resulting from his study of extra-Biblical material. Weippert establishes that in the Assyrian texts no fundamental difference is discernible

between the war-practice and war-ideology of the volunteer levy and that of the professional troops, and suggests that this is probably true for Israel also. Weippert concludes:

"....the thesis that with the rise of professional warfare in Israel the volunteer levy receded into the background, requires verification. The example of the Assyrians makes it quite improbable" (33).

Charismatic war-leader and king

The replacement of the ancient charismatic war-leader, the major "judge", by the king does not in itself imply an abandoning of holy war practice. Two factors are relevant here : to some extent the concept of kingship itself as charismatic, and, more importantly, the role of the charismatic prophet in relation to king in the war situation.

The king as charismatic war-leader

G. von Rad confirms that Saul and David still waged their wars as "holy war" (34) and indicates, moreover, that Saul's kingship arose decidedly as a military kingship ("Heerkönigtum") (35). Certainly, before he becomes king Saul is presented as a charismatic war-leader of the old type (36).

In the older version of the accession of Saul it is the militia of Israel who elect him king at Gilgal (1 Sam 9.1 - 10.16; 10.27b - 11.15) (37). Significantly, the style of Saul's call is reminiscent of the charismatic call of the Judges. Thus Saul is anointed (at Yahweh's command) to be a **7'ajj**, "that he may deliver Israel" (1 Sam 9.16). This concept of king-deliverer is important for the understanding of the essential link between king and ancient war-leader; it is as the divinely elected deliverer that the king is most clearly related to the ancient charismatic war-leaders of the period of the Judges (38). Furthermore, the transition from war-leader to king may be compared with the similar "institutionalising" (i.e. the change from "major" to "minor" Judge) of the function of some of the original war-leaders of the Book of Judges (39).

The charismatic choice of Saul is confirmed when he receives Yahweh's spirit (1 Sam 10.6,10; note especially the pre-battle context of the giving of the spirit in 1 Sam 11.6). It is of further significance that Saul's downfall is marked explicitly by the withdrawal of the divine charisma (1 Sam 15.23,26; 16.14; cf 13.13f); and the cause of Yahweh's disfavour is expressly stated to be the King's failure to observe holy war procedure. In this connection it is necessary

to note the assertion and dominant influence of priestly/prophetic leadership in the person of Samuel who is undoubtedly the key figure in the narratives of Saul's wars (cf *infra* p 71).

David's early days as champion of Yahweh and as war-leader to some extent exemplify the life of the warrior-charismatic. Although a professional soldier under Saul (40), David is presented as fighting Yahweh's wars (1 Sam 18.17; 25.28).

It must be acknowledged that the dynastic principle (41) effectively counteracts the concept of charismatic leadership in relation to the Davidic monarchy. Initially, however, Yahweh's choice of David as king is marked (as in the case of Saul) by the giving of the divine spirit (1 Sam 16.13).

The later monarchs (of both Kingdoms), it is true, are kings first and war-leaders secondly.

As a link with the ancient tradition, however, the case of Jehu is worthy of note. It is apparent that Jehu is a captain of the host of Israel when Elisha sends one of the "sons of the prophets" to anoint him king (2 K 9.1-10; cf v 13 where he is acknowledged as such by his fellow officers). Furthermore, Jehu is chosen to fulfil a special purpose of Yahweh (*ibid* v 7; cf 1 K 19.15ff).

J.H. Hayes argues for the survival of the charismatic tradition in the Northern Kingdom (42). We may note in addition that throughout the Biblical literature there is a definite conceptual presentation of Yahweh as the one who sets up kings and removes kings (Hos 13.11; Dan 2.21 cf 5.21) (43).

Reference may again be made to the corroborative evidence of extra-Biblical texts. In his study of the Assyrian royal inscriptions M. Weippert has shown that the Assyrian king is also the holder of charismatic office. Weippert considers the same to be true for Israel and Judah, and asserts that "a fundamental distinction between the kings and charismatic war heroes of early Israel does not exist" (44). Similarly, P.C. Craigie draws attention to the special role of the king in Akkadian pre-battle rites; here in particular the king is divinely appointed to lead the army (45).

The role of the prophet in war

More weight is to be attached to the prophet as bearer of the ancient holy war tradition. G. von Rad describes the prophets as "men in whom the charismatic side of Yahweh came to expression

with a completely new force" (46), and regards them as the bearers and spokesmen of the ancient holy war tradition (47).

Although we may agree with von Rad that the strategic command is now undertaken by the king (48), it must be observed that the functions of prophet and king in war (in the ninth century at least) are for the most part entirely complementary.

With reference to the prophet-king relationship in war J.H. Hayes quotes R. Bach who maintains that with the Monarchy

"....the old function of the charismatic leader was split.... the military function of his office was taken over by the king, and the more charismatic element was replaced by the sacred lot then later by prophecy."

Thus the prophets "filled the charismatic gap left by the secularisation of warfare....the spontaneous initiative of Yahweh was preserved in the prophetic relationship to warfare in association with the political function of the king." (49)

The emphasis on the prophetic function is undoubtedly true, but perhaps Bach overstates his argument to the extent that he draws too sharp a distinction between the war function of prophet and king. Thus his argument does not do justice to the possible charismatic role of the king (not only as warrior, but as judge (50), for example), nor, on the other hand, does it take account sufficiently of the essentially political role of the prophet. Von Rad notes succinctly that "the great prophets....recovered the whole realm of politics for the faith" (51), and points to the vital interest in politics which characterised ninth century prophecy in the Northern Kingdom (52).

With reference to the "cultic" prophet G.E. Wright emphasises that the central point is not their "cultic" role in the accepted sense of the term, but their political role (53).

The association of an individual prophet (sometimes unnamed) with the king in the context of war is attested in several instances. Different aspects of the association are also apparent (vide infra pp 71-73, Additional Note C).

A line of research which for lack of direct evidence must remain somewhat hypothetical, is the consideration of possible pre-monarchic prophetic function in connection with war.

Mention may certainly be made of Deborah. The prose account of the Deborah-Barak battle portrays Deborah as a prophetess or seer exercising distinctive war functions (Ju 4.4a; cf v 5a) (54). In this role Deborah calls and commissions Barak as Yahweh's

battle-commander (v 6), encourages him with the promise of victory and thus incites him to fight (vv 7,14). There is also some indication that Deborah accompanies Barak into battle (vv 8f,10b).

The more ancient poetic version of the battle presents Deborah as a charismatic leader in the style of the deliverers raised up by Yahweh in response to Israel's penitential appeal (vide supra pp 5-6). Thus in Judges 5.7b we read: "... I (OR, you) Deborah arose, I arose a mother (55) in Israel". Furthermore, Deborah's function in battle is made clear in the call: "Awake, awake, Deborah, awake, awake, utter a song" (v 12a). The reference is clearly to the intended incitement of troops in battle (56) presumably by means of war poetry or battle-cry.

Significantly, therefore, Deborah stands in the tradition of the charismatic war-leaders of the period of the Judges, and at the same time points forward to the prophetic war-functionaries of the monarchic period. Deborah may thus be seen as a prototype of the war prophet.

The early history of the דִּבְרֵי יְהוָה (57) does not permit us to draw definite conclusions as to the possible connection of these ecstatic prophets with war. Von Rad rightly states that there were no דִּבְרֵי יְהוָה when the charismatics waged their wars (58). Since, however, the ecstatic prophets were themselves in a sense charismatic (59) it is not improbable that to some extent they replaced the major "judges" as Yahweh loyalists in the war context. (60)

Furthermore, there is some evidence to show that the early דִּבְרֵי יְהוָה occupied cultic sites, made use of musical instruments, and engaged in some kind of cultic ecstatic dance (cf 1 Sam 10.5f; 19.20-24). The purpose of such musical stimuli was to induce ecstatic utterance which could be interpreted as a divine message. It is noteworthy that on one occasion Elisha acquired the service of a minstrel to enable him to give oracular advice (2 K 3.15; according to 1 Chr 25.1-3 the musical guilds of the post-exilic period also gave prophetic oracles). For the pre-monarchic period, however, J.H. Hayes reminds us there is no evidence of an enquiry of God mediated through a prophet (61). His point may be answered partly by his own statement that warfare was conducted in the pre-monarchic period under the leadership of a number of charismatic types (62). Perhaps, therefore, it is in the character of the early warrior-charismatic himself and in the divinatory techniques of cultic functionaries that we are to find the beginnings of prophetic inspiration and

prophetic involvement in war.

In his informative study, *The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel*, A.R. Johnson discusses the role of early cultic functionaries; and finds that priest (כֹּהֵן : יָד), seer (חֹזֶה) and early prophet (נָבִיא) have one original function in common, namely, the giving of oracular guidance (63). Furthermore, 1 Samuel 28.6 informs us that the three accepted ways of obtaining oracular revelation were by means of "dreams, Urim, and prophets". If divination by prophet was a recognised means of enquiry in Saul's time, this method may well have had its origin at a much earlier period. We have to bear in mind also that the name of the functionary is less important than the function. Thus, we may also take into account the explanatory editorial gloss in 1 Samuel 9.6 which indicates that the earlier name for prophet was "seer".

Certain literary forms in the Old Testament may reflect an ancient tradition of the role of cultic functionaries in war.

Studies in the prophetic oracles against foreign nations are particularly relevant as a possible indication of the function of the prophet in war.

Especially helpful is the examination by Gwilym H. Jones of the motifs and themes which are abundantly evident in these oracles (64). It is most significant that the oracles show prophetic dependence on ancient war traditions and may therefore have their original setting in the rites and observances of holy war (65).

The leading question, however, still remains. To what extent (and in what precise capacity) were prophets, or their predecessors, actually involved in ancient Hebrew warfare ?

Jones points to the significance of the prophetic oracle as the word of Yahweh, and suggests that the concept of prophecy as the declaration of the divine word may be a link with the practice of seeking divine guidance before embarking on a military campaign (66). Jones acknowledges, therefore, the need to study the usage of the oracles in order to bridge the gap between the ancient war traditions and the prophetic oracles..

In this connection, Jones also notes the attempt by J.H. Hayes to establish a possible link through ancient war-speeches, these taking the form of curses, taunts, judgment speeches against the enemy, and pre-battle oracles (67).

Hayes refers in particular to the Balaam tradition preserved in Numbers 22-24, and draws attention also to judgment speeches in the monarchic period (68), suggesting further that this usage "in all

probability goes back to the holy wars of the pre-monarchic period", and that such speeches were delivered by "charismatic participants among whom were the forerunners of later prophetism" (69).

More specifically, B.B. Margulis focusses attention on the Song of the Bards (Nu 21.27-30), and from his detailed analysis of prominent war motifs held in common concludes that the prophetic oracles against the nations are a development of this ancient type of literature (70).

II HOLY WAR PRACTICES AND CONCEPTS

Sufficient evidence presents itself to support von Rad's statement that holy war is "an eminently cultic undertaking, that is, one conventionalised by definite traditions, sacral rites and concepts" (71). Sacral ordinances govern the inauguration of war, the conduct of battle, and the conclusion of the campaign. Cultic requirements are binding upon the warrior (*infra* III). Of paramount importance are the observations of von Rad that holy war as an institution "never appeared completely in its real and intended form historically", but "however partial the undertakings may have been, they contained ideally on each occasion the prototype of holy war" (72).

Preparation for, and inauguration of war

Summons to battle

In the earliest wars of the Hebrew tribes the summons to battle may originally have been a simple call for help sent out to neighbouring tribes. Some indication of this is found in the narratives of the Book of Judges (Ju 4.10; 6.35; 7.24; cf also Josh 10.6). Similarly the men of Jabesh-gilead send to Saul for military support (1 Sam 11.3,4). The summons, possibly taking the form of a speech of incitement or encouragement (73), was delivered by messengers (Ju 6.35; 7.24), and was sometimes accompanied by the sounding of the war-trumpet (Ju 3.27; 6.34; cf 1 Sam 13.3,9). There is some indication of the voluntary nature of this primitive militia service (cf Ju 5.2,9), and even reference to a tribe being offended because its levies had not been called to participate (Ju 8.1; 12.1). A dramatic and presumably primitive (74) method of summoning men to battle is illustrated in 1 Samuel 11.7: Saul cuts up two oxen and sends the pieces throughout Israel. The action might well correspond to the raising of a standard or the sending out of a "fiery cross" (75). To construe it simply as an action intended to "compel men to take part" (76) by threatening their cattle, seems rather incongruous in the context of ancient holy war. The fact that Saul acts under the influence of Yahweh's spirit (v 6) might lead us to look for a cultic interpretation in keeping with the function of a charismatic war-leader. Behind the present form of the narrative may lie a reference to an inaugural battle-sacrifice (cf 1 Sam 13.9-10,12), more exactly, a procedure in which inaugural sacrifice was linked with the sending out of the battle-summons to the tribal levies.

At the same time the spontaneity and violence of the act might suggest it be construed as an example of symbolic battle-magic comparable with the arrows of Elisha (2 K 13.15-19) or the iron horns of the prophet Zedekiah (1 K 22.11), the underlying motive being that the sight of blood and hewn flesh would arouse the killing instinct and thus incite men to battle. On the other hand it may further be suggested that the episode preserves an authentic vestige of the kind of curses and penalties contained in ancient initiatory oaths of warriors (77), and in such a setting Saul's words, "thus may it be done to his oxen" (1 Sam 11.7), would be particularly appropriate.

The more gruesome sending out of pieces of a dismembered human body is presented in the narrative of Judges 19.29-30 principally as an appeal for justice or revenge. In reality here also we have a summons to battle, for significantly, although the tribes meet to hear evidence and pass judgment, they have assembled fully armed (Ju 20.2), and when judgment is given, retribution is to be carried out by military means (Ju 20.9-11).

Penitential rites

The importance of penitential rites as necessary cultic preliminaries to battle is widely attested in Old Testament war-narratives. Such ritual preparation indicates a fundamental requirement of holy war practice, namely, the effecting and maintaining of a proper sacral relationship with Yahweh. It will be seen from the following examples that penitential rites are performed not only for the initiation of war as such; they are resorted to in critical stages of battle and are also closely connected with the all-important seeking of divine guidance.

Thus, Judges 20.26 describes how, after defeats on two successive days at the hands of the Benjaminites, the Israelites weep, fast, and offer sacrifices prior to a third engagement. Although the rites occur in the context of battle their primary function here may not be as inaugural rites but rather as acts of penitence (including a period of vigil) in preparation for oracular guidance (ibid vv 27f., cf also v 23) (78). To the extent, however, that consulting Yahweh was directed towards the pursuance of a successful campaign, we may view the divine enquiry, along with its cultic preliminaries, as an integral part of battle preparation.

The main concern of the assembly in Judges 21.1-12 is to secure wives for the decimated tribe of Benjamin. The passage makes brief references to penitential weeping (v 2) and sacrificial offerings

(v 4), but no mention of divine enquiry; moreover the ritual acts are not directly associated with the military action which eventually takes place (vv 10f.).

Again, in 1 Samuel 7.9 the purpose of Samuel's sacrifice is not essentially the preparation of warriors for battle (79), but an appeal for divine help; indeed in the context the sacrifice may be regarded as the ritualistic accompaniment of the "cry to Yahweh" (vv 8,9b), and apparently has the immediate result of securing divine intervention (v 10).

These instances may not explicitly indicate inaugural rites for war, nevertheless, insofar as they emphasise the need for penitence, humility, and trust in Yahweh, they do in fact high-light the importance of the warrior's attitude and state of mind. It may therefore be argued that such penitential acts help to establish and maintain that special warrior-deity relationship which is essential for the conduct of holy war. W. Eichrodt (80) notes as a function of sacrifice, the creating of a bond of fellowship between worshipper and deity; this "sacral communion" is certainly one of the principal factors in holy war practice.

The following passages are more explicit.

According to 1 Samuel 13.9-12, Saul, faced with the enormous might of Philistine chariotry and infantry, offers sacrifices. The context makes it clear that such sacrifices are the necessary preliminaries to battle; verse 12 indicates that Saul cannot contemplate facing the enemy without first "placating Yahweh". Furthermore it is apparent that during the seven days' waiting period some dispersal of Saul's army has taken place. In this situation therefore the sacrifices which Saul feels compelled to offer may well be connected with the recall of troops and the re-establishment of the army as a sacral force (81).

Another incident in the Philistine war illustrates the use of fasting in an extreme situation (1 Sam 14.24). In proclaiming a fast until sunset Saul binds himself and his men to an even greater intensity of warrior consecration, and at the same time tacitly assumes that the period of the duration of the vow will be sufficient to allow for the enemy's defeat. In the sequel the failure of the oracle (v 37) is taken as a sign that guilt has been incurred, the cause of which proves to be Jonathan's inadvertent breaking of the vow (vv 27,43).

A binding oath with more tragic outcome figures in the episode of Jephthah (Ju 11.30-40). The wording of Jephthah's pre-battle vow (v 31) makes it clear that he is prepared to offer one of his own household in sacrifice if Yahweh gives victory. Although the sacrifice therefore

can take place only after battle, the pre-battle conditional vow may be regarded as equivalent to an inaugural sacrifice. R.H.Pfeiffer (82) suggests that Jephthah's sacrifice may derive ultimately from the sacrifice of the firstborn in a war context and draws a comparison with the event narrated in 2 Kings 3.27. Here, in a critical situation, the King of Moab turns the tide of battle by the ritual sacrifice of his eldest son. It is highly significant that the Israelites themselves are immediately affected by this action, and, doubtless believing that such a sacrifice would be instrumental in securing victory for the enemy, they break off the engagement and withdraw.

Apart from narrative examples, cultic inauguration of battle in ancient Israel may be reflected in the use by later writers of the verb וָּתַן (Pi'el, "to consecrate") in the technical phrase "to inaugurate" or "declare war" (Jer 6.4; Joel 3.9; Mic 3.5; vide supra p 3).

Furthermore, we may note the use of the cultic place in connection with the ritual preparation for battle. Mizpah is especially prominent in the ancient war-narratives (Ju 20.1; 21.1-2,5-9; 1 Sam.7.5-12; note also, Gilgal, 1 Sam 13.4,7-9; cf Josh 10.6-7; and Shiloh, Josh 22.12; cf 18.1).

A ritualistic development of some importance is the cultic procession, a notable example of which is evident in the idealised (83) account of the battle of Jericho (Josh 6.3-5,6-16). In this connection also we may note the traditional presentation of the crossing of Jordan (Josh 3.2-17). The ultimate extension of this ritualising of battle is seen in the unique liturgical emphasis of the Chronicler (vide infra pp 28-29).

Appeal to Yahweh

An important aspect of pre-battle preparation is the appeal to Yahweh through prayer and supplication (Josh 7.7-9; 1 Sam 7.5; 2 K 19.14-19 = Is 37.14-20; 2 Chr 20.3,4,6-13; 32.10; cf Ps 143). A unique form of supplication is attested in 2 Kings 19.14 where Hezekiah unrolls before Yahweh the letter received from the Assyrian emissaries (for an Akkadian parallel vide supra note (45)).

The appeal to Yahweh for help is frequently described as "crying to Yahweh" (note especially, 1 Sam 7.8-9). In the Book of Judges this occurs in the stereotyped sequence: "the Israelites did evil in the sight of Yahweh.....He delivered them into the hands of an enemy..... the Israelites cry to Yahweh and He sends a deliverer" (Ju 3.9,15; 4.3; 6.6b,7; cf 10.12b; note also 1 Sam 12.10).

The "cry to Yahweh" becomes an integral part of the Exodus tradition (Ex 14.10; Nu 20.16; Dt 26.7; Josh 24.7; 1 Sam 12.8; Is 19.20), and is especially emphasised by the Chronicler in the context of battle (1 Chr 5.20; 2 Chr 13.14; 14.11; 18.31; 20.9; 32.20). The occurrence of the motif in several Psalms may indicate an original battle context and content for such passages (cf Ps 3.4; 18.3,6 = 2 Sam 22.4,7; 22.5; 56.9; 57.2; 107.6; 120.1).

A specific appeal for help in battle is reflected in the call to Yahweh to "arise", evident in the ancient Song of the Ark (Nu 10.35) and again in the Psalms (Ps 3.7; 7.6; 9.19; 10.12; 17.13; 35.2b; 44.26; 68.1; 74.22; 82.8; 132.8) (84). The same idea is expressed in the use of the imperative "awake" (Ps 7.6b; 44.23; 59.4b,5; 80.2; Is 51.9; cf Zech 13.7).

Enquiry of Yahweh

Enquiry of Yahweh forms an essential preliminary of war, and may be necessary not only at the beginning of a campaign but also prior to critical phases of battle. Evidence for the Conquest period and for the wars of Saul and David indicates that divine guidance is sought by means of a variety of cultic objects: "lot", urim and thummim, Ephod, and Ark (85). The primitive nature of such methods of enquiry is illustrated in those instances in which an answer is given in the form of a simple affirmative or negative (cf Ju 20.23,28; 1 Sam 23.2,4,11,12; 2 Sam 5.19,23; 1 Sam 30.8), or in the selecting of an individual by process of elimination (1 Sam 14.40ff; Josh 7.14-18; cf 1 Sam 16.6-12).

The use of the Ark (86) for oracular enquiry, although less well attested (the reference in Judges 20.27f., is generally regarded as an editorial gloss, and in 1 Samuel 14.18 the Septuagint renders "Ephod"), may nevertheless reflect an authentic tradition. The late and idealised description of the Ark in Exodus 25.10-22; 37.1-9 (P) retains the primary aspect of a portable wooden box. Significantly, in Genesis 50.26 the term אֲרוֹן applies to a coffin, and in 2 Kings 12.9,10 to an offertory box. Deuteronomic (or Deuteronomistic (87)) passages also refer to the Ark primarily (and indeed solely) as a container, albeit for the legendary tablets of the Law (Dt 10.1-5; 31.24-26; cf 1 K 8.9,21) (88). This raises the question of the original purpose and possible contents of the Ark. Its shape and dimensions, a rectangular box roughly four feet long with ends two feet square (Ex 25.10; 37.1), indicate that it could have contained moderately-sized images, appurtenances of the cult, or simply, sacred stones (89). The possibility that the Ark was originally and primarily used for oracular enquiry should not be overlooked. In this connection it is

significant that Numbers 10.33 (JE) accords to the Ark the special function of leading the people on their journey from Sinai and at the same time indicating stopping-places. Similarly the episodes in Joshua 3-4 testify to the function of the Ark as guide during the entry into Canaan and specifically in connection with the crossing of Jordan (Josh 3.11ff; 4.10f, 16-19) (90). We may also consider the oracular significance of the Ark in the Shiloh sanctuary where Hannah is promised an answer to her petition (1 Sam 1.17) and Samuel receives Yahweh's call and message (ibid 3.3-14) (91).

A brief notice in Ezekiel 21.26f (EVV 21f), with reference to the King of Babylon, indicates pre-battle divination by means of arrows, teraphim and hepatoscopy (92).

In keeping with the influential role of the prophet or seer in war (vide supra pp 9-13), consulting a prophet is evidenced as another possible means of seeking divine guidance (1 Sam 28.6; 1 K 22.5-9, 10-23, 28; 2 K 3.11 9; 19.2-7 = Is 37.2-7; Jer 21.1-2; 37.6-10. Although not a war incident, the practice is clearly illustrated in 1 Sam 9.6-9). The obvious advantage of the prophetic answer over the priestly oracular devices was that it presented a more direct and a more explicit word of Yahweh in any given situation. Significantly, the introductory formulae of the oracles of the classical prophets, **וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע יְהוָה בְּקוֹלִי**, may preserve a link with the ancient oracular tradition (93). Furthermore, H Ringgren points to the significance of the verb **שָׁמַר** ("look out", "keep watch") applied to prophetic activity in this respect, and suggests that it refers to a special kind of "watching" for the purpose of obtaining visions or auditions (Is 21.5-12; Jer 6.17; Ezk 3.17; 33.7; Hab 2.1-3; cf Is 52.8; 56.10) (94).

War speech

A prominent feature throughout the tradition-history of holy war, the war speech or pre-battle address assumes importance not only as a speech-form well attested in practice, but also as the medium for characteristic and recurring holy war motifs and concepts.

The basic content of the war speech may represent the answer to oracular enquiry. Thus in some instances the speech receives its initial presentation as the direct words of Yahweh to the charismatic leader (95); the divine answer then becomes the substance of the leader's address to the people or the army (96).

The leading elements of the ancient war speech tradition are taken up in the stereotyped hortatory addresses which the Deuteronomist puts into the mouth of Moses (97); here the war speech becomes a vehicle for the Deuteronomic theology of the conquest of the land. Furthermore,

in the Deuteronomic War Code the ancient war speech, reduced to a most concise form, is incorporated into a formal battle-ordinance comprising firstly a pre-battle address of encouragement by the priest, and then specific regulations delivered by the staff officers (Dt 20.2-4,5-9; for content and discussion vide infra pp 42-45).

In the Chronicler's unique revival of the holy war tradition, the speech reverts to the context of battle and the spokesman, a levite, is presented almost in the role of a charismatic of the ancient type (2 Chr 20.14-17) (98).

Throughout, characteristic phraseology indicates the purpose and content of the ancient war speech, namely, incitement to fight, and encouragement to trust in divine aid and intervention. Among the constant elements in the tradition are the injunctions : "fear not" (99), "be strong and courageous" (100), and the command : "arise" (101). These traditional elements re-appear in the classical prophets, and form the basic content of the Deuteronomic war speeches (references included in the three previous notes).

The promise of victory is expressed especially in the widely attested motif of Yahweh delivering the enemy into the hands of His people (102). The assurance of Yahweh's help in battle is also indicated; here the key phrases are : "Yahweh will be with you", "Yahweh goes before", "Yahweh will fight for you", "Yahweh will destroy" (103). Although prominent in Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic passages, and to some extent in the classical prophets, these concepts embody a fundamental tenet of ancient holy war, namely, the decisive action of Yahweh in battle (vide infra IV). In this connection attention may be drawn to certain unique spiritualised concepts and motifs which although less frequently reported nevertheless epitomise the essential ideology of Israelite holy war. Thus, according to a J passage in the narrative of the crossing of the Sea (Ex 14.13f.), Moses encourages the people by means of a war speech which, apart from the typical motifs, contains the unique conceptual addition: "Stand still and see the salvation of Yahweh" (104). Similarly, in the spiritualised war-narrative of David's battle with Goliath, in which the action is completely subordinate to the speeches (105), and again in company with typical holy war motifs, another unique concept finds expression in the phrase: "the battle is the Lord's" (1 Sam 17.47). A comparable motif, characteristic of Isaiah, to which von Rad attaches particular importance is the idea of "looking to Yahweh" (106). Now it is remarkable that the Chronicler revives and combines these motifs in what is undoubtedly the ultimate literary expression of the holy war ideal in the Old Testament :

"Be not afraid for the battle is not yours but God's ye shall not need to fight in this battle; set yourselves, stand still

and see the salvation of Yahweh...." (2 Chr 20.15b,17a) (107). In addition, we find two concepts bearing upon the warrior's mental attitude to battle: the idea that numbers are irrelevant to the outcome of battle (108), and, from a similar point of view, the contrast between trust in Yahweh and reliance on weapons (109). These themes are further reflected in the specifically prophetic contrast between "spirit" and "flesh" (110).

Battle curse

A significant aspect of the war speech is the practice of directing formal curses against the enemy prior to battle. Although less well attested in Biblical literature than in pagan war-poetry (111), several instances are recorded in ancient Old Testament sources.

An example of the formal procedure is evident in the King of Moab's request to Balaam to curse Israel (Nu 22.6,17; 23.7 & passim; 24.10; cf Josh 24.9). The episode indicates that the proposed cursing is in fact the necessary preliminary to war. Details of the accompanying ritual are noteworthy. The procedure requires cultic divination and the seeking of oracular guidance (Nu 22.7,8f,19f,38; 23.23; 24.1,16), and is preceded by sacrificial acts (Nu 23.1-7,14-17,29f). Such a detailed account is doubtless representative of a more extensive literary tradition and a more frequent practice.

The prediction of Sisera's death (Ju 4.9) may presuppose a curse. According to 1 Samuel 17.43b Goliath curses David, In the same passage, verses 43a,44,45-47 indicate the practice of exchanging taunts and threats before battle.

Mention may also be made of post-battle cursing.

Thus, a curse is pronounced against the rebuilding of a city destroyed in battle (Josh 6.26) (112). The ritual "sowing with salt" (Ju 9.45) may be part of the formal curse-ceremony after the destruction of such a city (cf Dt 29.23). A post-battle cursing of a town whose inhabitants failed to participate in tribal war is indicated in the Song of Deborah (Ju 5.23). Ritual herem-destruction (infra pp 29-31) is essentially the ultimate actualisation of the battle curse (cf the AV rendering of the herem-command in Josh 6.17a: "And the city shall be accursed (**וְנִקְּחָהּ**) to the Lord").

Closely related to the curse-form is the deprecation of the enemy by means of taunt sayings. Taunt elements are especially apparent in Hebrew victory songs (cf infra p 33). In the Song of Deborah non-participating tribes are subject to derision (Ju 5.15b-17) and a taunt is directed against the mother of Sisera (ibid vv 28-31a).

Tribal taunt is also evident in Genesis 49.20,21. The Ammonite Victory Song (Nu 21.27-30) is essentially a taunt-song. Taunt elements are especially evident in the Song of the Sea (Ex 15.4-5, 9-10, 14f.). Craigie considers the Song of Lamech (Gen 4.23-4) to be an ancient example of taunt-song (113).

In a historical context we may note the taunts directed against the Jerusalem garrison by Assyrian emissaries (2 K 18.17-35; 19.10-13). Significantly, the curse-taunt tradition is taken up in later Old Testament literature. S. Mowinckel notes that the ancient idea and form of the curse are reflected in the expressing of a cursing wish against the enemy which is apparent in many of the Psalms of personal lament (114). In another series of Psalms the curse takes the form of a prayer for Yahweh to take action against the enemy (115).

Themes and motifs in the prophetic writings indicate the importance of the pejorative and denigrating word against the enemy. By their very nature the prophetic oracles against the nations are essentially pronouncements of doom, and therefore in a sense may be seen as equivalent to the ancient battle-curse (116). Thus it is variously indicated in the oracles that the enemy city or land is in fact cursed: cities and land are made desolate by war, they are devoid of human habitation, they become the dwelling-place of wild creatures (117). Similarly the motif of total annihilation is indicative of the ancient herem-curse (118).

A unique feature of the prophetic prediction and warning of doom and disaster for the nations is the characteristic description of the effect of their downfall upon those who observe it. Thus passers-by will be astonished at the sight, will wag their heads, will hiss (presumably the reference is to the drawing in of the breath in horror or astonishment), the hearer's ears will tingle (119). Further, the nations are to become "a reproach and a proverb" (Jer 24.9; Ezk 5.14,15; cf 1 K 9.7 = 2 Chr 7.20), "a taunt and a curse" (Jer 24.9; 44.22; Ezk 5.15), "a derision" (Jer 48.39), "an execration and an astonishment, a curse and a reproach" (Jer 44.12); (in these passages, apart from a reference to Moab (Jer 48.39), the judgment is upon Israel and Judah).

The prophetic oracles also preserve and develop specific taunt elements. Thus, the enemies are characterised as weak and helpless, overcome by fear, trembling and confusion; their transitory nature is especially derided (120). In addition, enemy warriors are said to be like women (Is 19.16; Jer 50.37; Nah 3.13); their distress will be as the pangs of childbirth (Is 13.8; Jer 48.41; 49.22b,24; 50.43; in Is 21.3 the motif is applied to the prophet himself).

Battle tactics and strategy

Although not strictly speaking indicative of holy war, the following examples of strategic practice provide important corroboration of the primitive nature of Hebrew warfare as well as evidence of the reality of the fighting (vide infra pp60-61).

Initial disruption of the enemy by a small force

A notable battle practice is the tactic of engaging and disrupting the enemy's front-line by means of a relatively small force while holding the main body of the army in reserve for the pursuit and final rout. This may well be the real strategy of Gideon's reduction of his original forces to three hundred picked men (Ju 7.2-8). These mount the initial attack (vv 19-22), after which a vastly increased number, including reservists summoned by messengers from neighbouring communities, join in the pursuit and slaughter of the enemy (vv 23ff). A distinct holy war motif is apparent in Yahweh's promise to deliver the enemy by a small force (vv 2,7).

A comparable strategy is presented in Ahab's battle against Ben-hadad (1 K 20.15,17,19-20). Here the "n^eʿārīm", a force of only two hundred and thirty-two warriors, spearhead the attack, disrupting the enemy and putting them to flight, then the militia ("all the people, all Israel" vv 15b,19b,20f.) pursue and destroy them. Again the holy war motif is evident, although less explicitly stated, in the divine promise to deliver the enemy by a small force (v 14).

Ambush tactics

Some evidence of ambush tactics is found in the following passages: Josh 8.14-22; Ju 20.29-43; 2 Chr 13.13; cf Ju 9.32,34,43.

We may also note the use of outflanking movements to cut off the enemy's retreat (Ju 7.24). Similar flanking movements are indicated in the deployment of the army in three columns. This technique was used to advantage by Gideon (Ju 7.16,19-22), Abimelech (Ju 9.43 -- v 34 indicates four sections, cf vv 36f.), Saul (1 Sam 11.11), and David (2 Sam 18.2).

Siege warfare

The indications in Joshua-Judges are that the earliest Hebrew armies were without knowledge of siege tactics and unaccustomed to laying

siege to cities. This accounts for the strategy employed in the taking of the city of Ai (Josh 8.15-22): Joshua draws away the city garrison with part of his army; the remainder, from ambush positions, enter and destroy the city; the decoy troops turn and face the enemy, and at the same time the contingents which took the city attack the enemy from the rear.

In the idealised war-narrative of the Battle of Jericho no mention whatever is made of a siege. After the ritualistic perambulation of the city the walls fall down, the city is taken and the inhabitants are slaughtered (Josh 6.20f) (121).

According to Joshua 10.19 Joshua is concerned that the enemy should be defeated before they are able to reach their defenced cities; when the survivors do in fact reach their cities Joshua's men break off the engagement (vv 20b-21). In the same chapter, as a sequel to the slaughter of the kings, verse 28 notes simply that Joshua "took Makkedah and smote it with the edge of the sword". (For the same general phraseology note also: Josh 10.29f, 31, 32, 34f, 36f, 38f; 11.10, 12). The notable feature of these battle narratives is that there is no explicit reference to siege-works and no instance of a technical siege-terminology apart from general phrases such as "encamped against", "fought against", or "took the city": the main emphasis is on the final act of herem-slaughter.

Little development towards siege practice is apparent in the Book of Judges. Thus, for the first part of the attack on Shechem no direct siege is indicated. The initial engagements take place outside the city (Ju 9.39f, 43, 44b). Verse 45 states in general terms that "Abimelech fought against the city all that day and took the city". The final action is only slightly more explicit in the matter of siege procedure: branches are cut from trees for the burning of the fortified tower of Shechem (vv 48f). During a similar attempt to burn down the tower in Thebez Abimelech is killed by a mill-stone dropped from the wall (Ju 9.51ff). This incident clearly shows that Abimelech and his men had no proper siege-works or any kind of defence against stones or weapons thrown from the walls.

For the period of the monarchy the books of Samuel and Kings present in the main only general references to siege (122). In one instance (which recalls Josh 10.19) David orders Abishai to pursue the rebel Sheba ben Bichri before the latter can occupy fortified cities (2 Sam 20.6). On the other hand there are two references to the raising of earthworks (**הִצְבִּיחַ עִיר**) against city walls (2 Sam 20.15; 2 K 19.32 = Is 37.33).

The technical terminology of siege warfare is explicit in a few passages in Ezekiel (123).

The Deuteronomic war code incorporates formal regulations for siege warfare (Dt 20.10-20). In keeping with the theological tone and emphasis of the writers, these regulations are less concerned with the technical strategy of siege than with the final act of ritual slaughter and the humane treatment of women prisoners (for the latter cf Dt 21.10-14). A humanitarian motive is also discernible in the unique law prohibiting the cutting down of fruit trees for the building of siege-works. This ordinance reflects the interests of a settled community rather than the context of invasion and conquest; we may contrast the indiscriminate destruction of trees, along with the spoiling of fields and wells, reported in the action against the cities of Moab (2 K 3.19,25). Furthermore, the reference to wooden siege-works (Dt 20.20, the only other such reference is in Jer 6.6) presupposes a siege technique in advance of the practice (i.e. the throwing up of a mound, 2 Sam 20.15; 2 K 19.32) indicated for the monarchic period. An earlier practice is also indicated in the fact that the cutting of wood reported in Judges 9.48f., is not for the construction of siege-works but for the burning of the city keep. Another characteristic feature of the Deuteronomic siege-law is that distant cities are to be treated differently from those near at hand (Dt 20.10-15,16f); von Rad rightly notes the theoretic nature of this distinction (124).

The use of trumpets

An important and varied role is assigned to the trumpet in ancient Hebrew warfare. Two types of instrument are presented in the Old Testament. The earliest references show that the ram's horn (שׁוֹפָר) (125) is essentially the battle-trumpet, and its use is consistently attested throughout the holy war tradition from the earliest war-narratives to the latest post-exilic prophetic writings. Later and slightly less frequent reference is made to priestly ceremonial trumpets (חֲצֹצְרִיתִים). These are in fact the instruments of the second Temple and are featured particularly in the Priestly Code (126) and in the Chronicler's work. The חֲצֹצְרִיתִים occur mainly (but not exclusively) in the context of cultic rites and festivals. Their basically cultic and ceremonial provenance is further indicated in that they invariably appear in conjunction with other musical instruments (127).

The military function of the שׁוֹפָר is variously indicated. Undoubtedly the most primitive usage is preserved in the narrative of Gideon's night-attack on the Midianites. A notable feature here is the fact that each of Gideon's three hundred warriors carries a

horn (128) (Ju 7.16,18,19,20,22). The purpose of the sounding of horns, breaking jars, and showing torches simultaneously from three sides of the enemy camp is essentially to create panic and confusion (vv 21f).

By contrast, the equally idealistic presentation of the Battle of Jericho features the horn as an integral part of the cultic perambulation of the city. Consonant with the cultic nature of this pre-battle ceremony is the fact that it is seven priests who carry the horns (Josh 6.4,6,8,13,16,20; note the regulation laid down by the Priestly tradition in Nu 10.8 with reference to the ceremonial trumpets).

In more realistic terms other Old Testament war-narratives indicate as a primary function of the horn the summoning of the battle levy (Ju 3.27; 6.34; 1 Sam 13.3f; 2 Sam 20.1f; cf 2 Sam 15.10) (129). According to a much later passage, Nehemiah 4.14(EVV 20), the ^{שופר} will sound battle-stations for the defence of the walls of Jerusalem. Signals for breaking off pursuit (2 Sam 2.28; 18.16) and for the withdrawal of troops (2 Sam 20.22) are also given by the horn. Sufficient evidence in the prophetic writings confirms the importance of the war-trumpet in the holy war tradition. The call of the ^{שופר} to prepare for war is clearly indicated in several passages (130). Two explicit references associate the horn with the Day of Yahweh (Joel 2.1; Zeph 1.16; cf Is 27.13; Joel 2.15). Noteworthy also are two references to Yahweh coming as a warrior complete with ^{שופר} (Zech 9.14; Ps 47.6(EVV 5)).

With reference to the use of ^{חצצרות} in a war context, two notable examples are found in the Chronicler's history. Second Chronicles 13.12,14 clearly indicate the use of the ceremonial trumpets by priests prior to and during battle. Even more significant is the evidence of 2 Chronicles 20.28. Here the trumpet does not appear in connection with the summoning of troops to battle or as a tactical signal in battle, but in the context of victory thanksgiving and in association with other musical instruments (vide supra, note (127); the reference to trumpet and horn in Ps 98.6 may originally belong to the celebration of victory).

In its detailed instructions for the use of the ceremonial trumpets the Priestly Code conveniently summarises the holy war tradition of battle-trumpet. According to Numbers 10 the ^{חצצרות} are to be used to summon the community (^{עדה} vv 2,3) or general assembly (^{קהל} v 7), to call the chiefs of the "thousands" (131) of Israel (v 4), and to signal breaking camp (vv 2,5,6). More generally they are to be sounded on purely ceremonial occasions (v 10). The most significant reference for our study, however, is in verse 9. Here

the meaning, indeed the raison d'être, of the war-trumpet is made clear. In the press of battle the trumpet-call is to "serve as a reminder on your behalf before Yahweh your God, and you will be delivered from your enemies". There would seem to be a twofold significance here, pointing conclusively to the taking up by the priestly tradition of original elements of the holy war tradition. Firstly, the sounding of the trumpet "for remembrance" is in a sense equivalent to the ancient appeal to Yahweh or "cry to Yahweh" before battle (vide supra pp 17f ; note also the recurrence of the "cry to Yahweh" in the battle episode 2 Chr 13.14 , supra p 26). Secondly, as with the ancient practice of war-speech and oracular enquiry (vide supra pp 18-21), the trumpet-call-appeal of Numbers 10.9 is answered by the words of victory-assurance (albeit in slightly altered form): "...and you will be delivered from your enemies". Exactly the same kind of assurance accompanies the call to battle-stations in Nehemiah 4.14 (vv 20): "Wherever the trumpet sounds, rally to us there, and our God will fight for us". Again, in 2 Chronicles 13 , after the sounding of the trumpets and the battle-shout, Yahweh intervenes on behalf of the men of Judah, smites Jeroboam and Israel, and, here precisely in the wording of the ancient war tradition, "delivers them into their hand" (vv 14ff).

In this connection also it may be suggested that the miraculous collapse of the walls of Jericho relates in a similar way to the preliminary cultic procession and following trumpet-blast and battle-shout. Yahweh's intervention in response to a cultic appeal is also illustrated in 1 Samuel 7.10 : as Samuel offers sacrifice Yahweh thunders against the Philistines and throws them into confusion.

Battle-shout

An important aspect of ancient Hebrew war practice, and a basic recurring feature throughout the tradition-history of holy war in the Old Testament, is the close association of trumpet-call and battle-shout (הַרְוּעָה) (132).

In the narrative of the Battle of Jericho seven priests are to sound ram's horns and the whole army is to raise the shout (Josh 6.5,20; verb הָרַע & substantive הַרְוּעָה). Similarly, the formal battle-cry of Gideon's warriors is preceded by the sound of the horns (Ju 7.18,20; note also Hos 5.8). A striking example is also found in the Chronicler's account of the war waged by Jeroboam against Judah : at the height of the battle the priests sounded the trumpets and the men of Judah raised the shout (2 Chr 13.14b-15a; verb הָרַע).

Horn and battle-shout are associated in the following passages : Jer 4.19b (explicitly הַרְוּעָה בְּלִתְהָה); Am 2.2; Job 39.25.

Zephaniah describes the Day of Yahweh as "a day of horn and battle-shout" (Zeph 1.16; cf Joel 2.1 (133)). The association is also preserved in Psalm 47.6 (EVV 5):

"God has gone up with a shout; Yahweh with the sound of a horn".

That the sound of the trumpet was in fact the signal for the battle-shout is clear from Joshua 6.5,20 and Judges 7.18,20. This is further illustrated in a few non-military contexts (134). In addition, examination of the references to הַצִּלְצִלִּים in Numbers 10.5a,6a,6b (135) supports the same conclusion. The reference in Numbers 31.6 is also instructive. The trumpets which Phinehas carries to battle are here described as $\text{הַצִּלְצִלִּים הַלְלוֹתִים}$, which may be rendered simply "the terū'ā trumpets", that is, trumpets for signalling "terū'ā"; (NEB interprets the phrase as "the trumpets to give the signal for the battle-cry").

In actual battle practice the combination of trumpet and shout may well have constituted the signal for attack (note especially Josh 6.5,20f; similarly, 2 Chr 13.14b-15 where the ensuing battle-action is Yahweh's; cf also Ju 7.18,20).

Battle-cry

Apart from the battle-shout (הַצִּלְצִלִּים), some evidence of more formal battle-cries is presented. The most obvious example is Gideon's battle-cry: "For Yahweh and for Gideon" (Ju 7.18 (136)).

P.C. Craigie notes the following additional examples of battle-cry in early Hebrew war-poetry:

"After you Benjamin" (Ju 5.14; cf also Hos 5.8b)

"Dominate powerfully, O my soul" (Ju 5.21)

"Yahweh is a man of war" (Ex 15.3)

"War-cry of a king" (Nu 23.21b).

Craigie further considers that the name of the altar "Yahweh is my banner" (Ex 17.15) may be a recollection of a battle-cry (137).

Liturgical emphasis

An innovation of considerable importance in the presentation of battle-trumpet and shout is the unique liturgical emphasis evident in the Chronicler's work (138). Although witnessed mainly in non-military contexts (139), the Chronicler's liturgical emphasis is attested in one notable battle episode, 2 Chronicles 20, which stands out as the ultimate idealistic development of the Old Testament holy war tradition. Here, according to the Chronicler, male singers are appointed to precede Jehoshaphat's army "praising God" (v 21). Significantly, their singing is followed by Yahweh's decisive action

against the enemy (v 22; cf supra p 27). Presumably, as elsewhere in Chronicles (140), these are cultic singers, indeed Temple guild singers, whose cultic function in battle may be compared with the central role of the seven priests in the idealistic presentation of the Battle of Jericho. Equally important is the fact that one of their number, Jahaziel, "a Levite of the sons of Asaph", delivers the pre-battle address (vv 14-17; vide supra p 20 & note (98)) (141).

The most significant feature in the Chronicler's cultic presentation of this battle episode is that the battle-shout has in reality become a battle-hymn: "Praise be to Yahweh, for His mercy is forever" (v 21b) (142). Another striking innovation is that there is no mention of trumpet summons or signal either before or during battle (contrast 2 Chr 13.12,14). The cultic singers, therefore, not only transform the battle-shout, their singing would seem to have replaced the function of the trumpet in battle (143). (For the inclusion of the trumpet in the Chronicler's description of the victory celebrations, vide infra p 33).

Finally, it may be noted that the Book of Deuteronomy, despite the inclusion of a formalised war code, which doubtless preserves original aspects of the ancient war tradition, makes no mention of war trumpets, battle-shout, or battle-cry.

Post-battle rites and practices

Herem

The sacral character of ancient Hebrew warfare is convincingly demonstrated in the act of הָרַם, the ritual slaughter of the defeated enemies, their families and their livestock (144). It is important to observe the cultic connotation of the term which indicates not simply annihilation but "devotion" or "vowing to the deity by destruction" (cf Akkad. haramu, "ritually separate"; a pre-battle vow to carry out herem is explicit in Nu 21.2f). Thus herem is ideally a divine sanction, obligatory as the concluding cultic act of holy war. Consequently, failure to carry out complete herem may seriously affect the course of battle. Because of Achan's breaking of the sanctity of herem the initial attack on Ai fails; the sin is expiated by the destruction of Achan and his family (Josh 7 (145)). In the context of Saul's fall from divine favour the (anti-monarchic) narrator indicates the King's disobedience in neglecting to carry out full-scale herem against the Amalekites (1 Sam 15.8a,9,19); in the sequel, Samuel's action in hewing Agag in pieces "before Yahweh" (i.e. as a cultic act) may be contrued as herem-slaughter (vv 32f). In another

episode, Moses rebukes the Israelites for having appropriated animals and spoil, and for having spared the lives of women and children after the defeat of the Midianites (Nu 31.9-12, 14f.). Noteworthy is the use of the Hiph'il of the verb **וּנְחַם** in the prophetic writings especially with reference to Yahweh's action against the nations (146).

In practice, however, total herem might not in fact have been carried out in all circumstances. Two instances indicate that young virgins might be spared (Ju 21.12; Nu 31.18). The Deuteronomic law of siege stipulates, in the case of distant cities, that women and children are to be spared (Dt 20.14; note also the ordinance for the permitted marriage of an Israelite with a female prisoner of war, Dt 21.10-14). In several instances the appropriation of cattle and spoil is allowed (Dt 2.35; 3.7; 20.14; Josh 8.2, 27; 11.14; vide infra pp 31f.). Nevertheless these exceptions to the rule do not detract from the essential and practical purpose of herem, namely, the effective reduction of the enemy's military potential. Thus, even where cattle and spoil are retained, the total annihilation of the enemy population is carried out (Dt 2.34; 3.6; Josh 8.24ff; 11.14; cf 1 Sam 15.8b+33b), and in cases where women and children are spared, all the males are slain (Nu 31.7b; Dt 20.13; Ju 21.11; note that the last passage includes married women, similarly Nu 31.17 specifies male children and married women).

It is readily apparent that herem has a special importance for the writers of Deuteronomy. Indeed, it may be said that the rite forms a focal point in their revival of holy war ordinances. We may also infer that it is the principle of herem rather than its actual practice which interests the Deuteronomists since the principle truly exemplifies their theological standpoint, namely, the complete rejection of and separation from everything pertaining to pagan cult and life (147). This is well illustrated in Deuteronomy 13.12-18 where (hypothetically) an Israelite city which has become apostate is condemned to complete herem. In this episode, apart from herem, two other elements of the ancient war tradition are apparent: firstly, the action is to be undertaken by the whole of Israel (148) (cf the inter-tribal conflict in Judges 20); secondly, the city is to be completely destroyed, and a curse forbids its rebuilding (cf Josh 6.26). Herem is necessarily an integral part of the Deuteronomic concept of the wars of conquest (note especially Dt 7.2, 16, 24; cf also Dt 2.34; 3.6). In contrast to the treatment prescribed for distant cities, the law of siege insists that cities near at hand must be given over to complete herem (Dt 20.16f.). In the same context an uncompromising

(theological) reason for *herem* is adduced, namely, the prevention of religious syncretism (Dt 20.18)(149). It is important, therefore, to see the Deuteronomic demand for *herem* in the context of the continuing ideological struggle against the influences of pagan religion. Thus in Deuteronomy and in the Deuteronomistic writers the practice of *herem* is frequently associated with the destruction of pagan altars and images as well as with the proscription of agreements and inter-marriage with the indigenous population (150). In line with this theological standpoint Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic writers characteristically describe the idolatrous cult of heathen gods as a "snare" for Israel (151).

Booty

A few passages clearly indicate that the spoils of war must be consecrated to Yahweh (152). In this respect the disposal of booty is governed in effect by the law of *herem* (153). More frequently, however, booty is appropriated by the warriors themselves (154). That this may have become the more usual practice is indicated not only by the more numerous references but also by the need to formulate regulations for the equitable distribution of booty (Nu 31.26-30; cf *ibid* vv 32-54; 1 Sam 30.22-25) (155).

It is noteworthy that both aspects of the disposal of booty are found in the Book of Deuteronomy. Thus, with the absolute prohibition of appropriation of booty in Dt 13.16 (cf 7.26) we may contrast the taking of cattle and spoil permitted in Dt 2.35; 3.7; and 20.14 (similarly Josh 8.2,27; 11.14). It is clear that different rules govern different situations. The context of Dt 13.12f is specifically concerned with apostasy in a city given to Israel by Yahweh. In this case the eradication of every trace of paganism is necessary along with the complete destruction of the city and its inhabitants. Similarly, in Dt 7 the writer's concept of the Conquest envisages the total destruction of pagan idols and images, and therefore in this context the appropriation of any such object is necessarily prohibited (v 26). On the other hand, the military defeat of Sihon is seen against the background of his having refused the Israelites peaceful passage through his land (Dt 2.26-35). The situation in Dt 3.1-7, although less explicitly presented, may have a similar background. In both of these episodes city populations are completely annihilated (perhaps as reprisals) but cattle and spoil are taken. The latter detail may well reflect the actual practice of the semi-nomadic tribes in the period of invasion and settlement: an army, indeed a population on the move would hardly be likely to destroy valuable food supplies. The final reference, Dt 20.14, occurs in

the characteristically theoretical formulation of the law of siege which makes a basic distinction in the treatment prescribed for cities near at hand and cities at a distance. In the case of the nearer cities, those given to Israel as an inheritance, all life is to be destroyed (vv 16f). Distant cities, however, are first of all offered terms of peace and vassalage (vv 10f); if such terms are refused, the cities are to be attacked and taken, but in this event only males are put to death, women and children are spared and cattle and spoil are appropriated (vv 12-15). Significantly, the theological reason adduced for complete herem in connection with near cities (v 18) is mentioned neither in connection with distant cities (vv 10-15) nor in the passages Dt 2.26-35; 3.1-7.

Victory celebration

A limited amount of evidence points to the commemoration of victory by the setting up of memorial stones. Samuel's victory over the Philistines is marked in this way (1 Sam 7.12). Moreover, the name of the stone, Ebenezer, acknowledges Yahweh as the author of victory and thus provides a link with an important concept of the holy war tradition. Similarly, the miraculous crossing of the Jordan, although not directly connected with war (yet ideally marking the beginning of the Conquest, cf Josh 4.13), is commemorated by stones taken from the river bed and set up at Gilgal (Josh 4.3-9, 20-24). In two post-battle instances the setting up of stones to form an altar presupposes the offering of sacrifice as part of victory thanksgiving (Ex 17.15; Josh 8.30f; note also that Jethro marks and celebrates Yahweh's deliverance of the people from Egypt by acts of sacrifice, Ex 18.12). It is noteworthy also that the Philistines celebrate the capture of Samson with sacrifice and praise (Ju 16.23f). Furthermore, in Psalm 27.6 the combination of **אֲרִיזָה**, sacrifice and praise is suggestive of an original setting in victory celebration.

More extensive evidence points to an ancient tradition of victory thanksgiving comprising acts of singing and dancing. It is especially clear that women had an essential role in this form of victory celebration. According to an ancient passage, Exodus 15.20f, Miriam leads the singing and dancing to celebrate the crossing of the Sea. Jephthah and his returning warriors are similarly welcomed after the defeat of the Ammonites (Ju 11.34). The victorious Saul and David return to the welcome of singing and dancing women (1 Sam 18.6). It is in the context of victory that the lines praising David's military prowess have their original epigrammatic setting (1 Sam 18.7; cf 21.11; 29.5). The song for greeting the setting down of the Ark

(Nu 10.36) may possibly have its origin as an expression of victory thanksgiving (156).

The practice of victory celebration is further supported by literary evidence of actual victory songs; indeed ancient Hebrew war-poetry provides the strongest evidence for victory celebration. Several examples of victory song are preserved in the Old Testament, notably, the Song of Deborah (Ju 5), Miriam's Song (Ex 15.21), the Song of the Sea (Ex 15.1-18), and the Amorite victory song (Nu 21.23-30); in addition Craigie discerns in Judges 16.24 a fragment of a Philistine victory song (157).

It is possible moreover that Yahweh's action in battle would have provided ample subject-matter for victory songs: note for example the epic descriptions of Yahweh going forth as a warrior to battle, Ju 5.4; Dt 33.2; Ps 68.7-8; Hab 3.3-4, 11ff, 15. Poetic material of this kind doubtless formed the contents of the "Book of Yashar"; note especially the quotation preserved in Joshua 10.12, 13 (cf also 2 Sam 1.18 and LXX 1 K 8.53). The "Book of the wars of Yahweh", according to the specific statement in Numbers 21.14f., must have contained a similar collection of Yahweh's saving acts.

Elements of victory song may also be preserved in the Book of Psalms; indeed many of the Psalms may have had an original Sitz im Leben as songs of thanksgiving after victory and deliverance (158).

Significantly, the Chronicler provides unique additional information on the practice of victory thanksgiving in connection with the miraculous overthrow of the combined forces of Moab and Ammon (2 Chr 20). Here two stages of victory celebration are indicated. Initially, on the fourth day after the battle, the warriors assemble in the "Vale of Blessing" to offer praise to Yahweh (v 26, presumably the name given to the valley is meant to indicate the ceremony carried out there). Thereafter the warriors return rejoicing to Jerusalem where, to the accompaniment of musical instruments, they proceed in triumphal procession to the Temple (vv 27f.); remarkably, trumpets, which have not appeared in the battle-narrative (cf supra p 29 & note (143)), are included among the instruments for the celebration of victory. Thus the liturgical emphasis which characterises the Chronicler's whole presentation of holy war (vide supra pp 28f.) is again evident in the formal ceremony of victory thanksgiving. (It is important to note, however, that this liturgical emphasis receives its climactic presentation in battle with the levitical singers (vv 21f.) of whom no specific mention is made in connection with the victory thanksgiving.)

III Warrior Asceticism

Designation of the consecrated warrior

Old Testament literary sources provide significant evidence of the concept of warrior consecration. One verse in particular, Judges 5.2, preserves an authentic insight into the primitive character of the ancient Hebrew warrior, indicating on the one hand the voluntary nature of warrior service, and on the other hand, that the warrior state necessitates a unique degree of cultic (and even ascetic) constraint; thus we read:

בַּפֶּרֶץ פְּרָעוֹת בִּישְׂרָאֵל בְּהִתְנַדֵּב עַם גִּבְרָכִי יְהוָה

which may be rendered:

When locks hung loose in Israel, (159)

When the people offered themselves freely,

Bless Yahweh.

(Miller's translation(160))

Here (and again in verse 9) the distinctive use of the Hithpa'el of the verb **נָדַב** conveys the idea of complete and willing dedication and thus characterises the warrior as a volunteer for battle, a devotee of Yahweh (161). This portrayal of the warrior's mental attitude essentially complements the concept of warrior-deity relationship indicated in pre-battle penitential rites (vide supra pp 15-16) and especially exemplified in war-speech motifs emphasising reliance upon Yahweh (vide supra pp 20f).

The cultic consecration of the ancient warrior is more clearly illustrated in the phrase **גִּבְרָכִי פְּרָעוֹת** (note similarly Dt 32.42b, with reference to Yahweh's revenge on the "long-haired heads of the enemy", **פְּרָעוֹת אוֹיֵב**). The depicting of men with hair uncut or hanging loose (162) is readily reminiscent of the ancient Nazirite order, the formal (and later) regulations for which specify uncut hair as one of the main cultic characteristics of the nazir (Nu 6.5; the last phrase of the verse employs the same term **פֶּרֶץ** as Ju 5.2).

(For the terminology of sacral devotion and related tabu-restrictions, see Additional Note D, infra pp 74-75). If the interpretation of

גִּבְרָכִי פְּרָעוֹת (Ju 5.2) as "those who had flowing locks" or, "with hair hanging loose" is accepted, it may be suggested that the tribal militia under Barak were in fact nazir-warriors. It would seem reasonable, therefore, to conclude that this early evidence in Ju 5.2

points to a fundamental connection between the Nazirate, with its roots in pre-Israelite nomadic Yahwism, and the archaic concept of Hebrew warrior devotion. M. Weber considers that the original Nazirites were "ascetically trained warrior ecstasies", while P.D. Miller suggests that the Nazirite vow may have originated as part of the ritual of holy war (163). Another piece of evidence may indirectly testify to the early existence and function of the nazir-warrior. The term nazir applied to Joseph (Gen 49.26b; Dt 33.16b), singles him out as a special champion among his brothers; the reference may be to the role of the Joseph tribes in the wars of the Conquest (164). The warrior characterisation of Joseph is further seen in that his military prowess is compared with the goring horns of a wild ox (Dt 33.17). Moreover, it may be suggested that the charismatic war-leaders of the Book of Judges (vide supra pp 5-6; & infra note (172)) are in reality Nazirite champions for Yahweh at a time before the precise formulation of the law of Nazirate. ⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ We may also consider that the archaic principles of the Rechabite movement (preserved in Jer 35.6-10) have their origin and setting within the same circle of ideas, and embody the same concept of ascetic warrior devotion. The ecstatic *q'x'lj* would also seem to share the same strict tradition of nomadic Yahwism (cf supra p 11).

It is clear that the later regulations for Nazirate (Nu 6.1-21 (P)) envisage a temporary vow of consecration; (it is remarkable, however, that in such a precise formulation neither the duration nor the purpose of the vow is specified). By contrast, the earliest indications are that the ancient nazir was consecrated for life. This is borne out in the legendary material depicting the warrior-hero Samson, and in the birth stories associated with Samuel. In the case of Samson, who of all the ancient warriors is the only one specifically called a nazir, it is stipulated that his hair must remain uncut (Ju 13.5,7; 16.17). His downfall is associated with the cutting of his hair (Ju 16.17-20). The significance of this episode is not that his strength was directly connected with his hair; Samson's strength came from Yahweh, and the cutting of the hair signified a betrayal of his life-long consecration to Yahweh. Although the term nazir is not applied to Samuel in the Old Testament (166), his mother vows to dedicate him to Yahweh for life (1 Sam 1.11,28) (167), and explicitly states that "no razor shall ever touch his head" (1 Sam 1.11b; for the phrase cf Nu 6.5a; Ju 13.5a; 16.17a).

Furthermore, the ancient nazir was not necessarily or exclusively a warrior-champion: he was in the first instance a devotee of Yahweh, dedicated to a specific assignment of Yahweh's choosing. This is apparent in the lives of Samuel and Elijah. The narrators portray

Samuel as a man of many parts (168). Although not consecrated primarily for war, he nevertheless carries out priestly and prophetic functions in war (1 Sam 7.3-10; 13.8,10-15). Especially significant is the inclusion of his name in the battle-cry: "After Saul and after Samuel" (1 Sam 11.7). When Saul neglects the strict carrying out of herem it is Samuel who takes him to task and who carries out the ritual execution of Agag (1 Sam 15.18f, 32f; cf supra p 29).

It is noteworthy that Elijah is referred to as רַעַל שָׂרָא שֶׁנֶּאֱמָר (2 K 1.8). If this phrase is interpreted as "a hairy man", it might indicate that in this respect the prophet had something in common with the consecrated nazirite-warrior (169). J. Bright suggests that Elijah was possibly "a nazirite in perpetual fitness for war" (170). The narratives, however, do not present him as a warrior in the accepted sense, but essentially as a prophet commissioned by Yahweh and the bearer of His word (1 K 17.2,8; 18.1; 21.27,28; cf 2 K 1.3,15). Elijah is recognised as a "man of God" (1 K 17.18,24; 2 K 1.9-13), and appears as the advocate of Yahweh's justice (1 K 21.17-24). In his own words he is "zealous beyond measure for Yahweh" (1 K 19.10,14). Specifically, Elijah is Yahweh's champion against the Baal cult and sanctuary (1 K 18.17-39). It is in this context that we find some semblance of warlike action, namely, the slaying of the prophets of Baal (1 K 18.40; 19.1; cf 19.17b with reference to Elisha; note also Elijah's calling down fire from heaven against the military contingents of Ahaziah, 2 K 1.9-13). A more definite holy war connection is preserved in the description of Elijah as "the chariotry and horsemen of Israel" (2 K 2.12; similarly 2 K 13.14 with reference to Elisha) (171).

Thus, although the ancient nazir was not necessarily limited to a purely military role, it is clear that the ethos of warrior devotion permeated the whole concept and sphere of Hebrew consecration, and that in practice zeal for Yahweh, and zealous action in support of true Yahwism, characterised the lives of various types of Yahweh loyalists (172).

Ritual purity

Reference has already been made (supra p 3) to the use of the Pi'el of the verb שָׁבַע as a technical expression for the inauguration of war (literally, the "consecration" of war). Although this (prophetic) usage is relatively late, it may represent an accurate reflection of the cultic state of the ancient warrior, for, in reality, "consecration of war" can only mean that it was the warriors themselves who were "consecrated", that is, "made qādhōsh to Yahweh". Thus Yahweh's

heavenly warriors are designated "holy ones" (173). The extended phrase "the people of the saints of the Most High" (Dan 7.27) is particularly significant as denoting earthly "sanctified ones" (174). That the warrior should be in a state of ritual purity also follows from the basic concept of war as a sacral institution, and even more so from the fact of Yahweh's active participation in battle. Accordingly, we may expect the warrior to have much in common with other cultic functionaries (cf *infra* pp 74-75). It is equally obvious, however, that if priests, individual laymen, and the community itself have to be in a state of ritual purity for normal cultic functions, the warrior on active service is subject to an even greater intensity of ritual requirement and ascetic constraint for what is in fact Yahweh's war. Thus, for the warrior, an ultimate sanction of ritual purity may be obligatory, namely, cultic chastity. (175).

Cultic chastity

Early Old Testament sources present some evidence of cultic chastity, albeit of a temporary nature, as a condition necessary for various types of consecrated men. Although the requirement is not stated in legalistic form (176), it may be inferred from certain significant episodes; J.A. Montgomery pertinently remarks: "a limited amount of cases illustrates a vast amount of praxis" (177).

Indirect evidence of warrior chastity is presented in the brief account of David's visit to the sanctuary of Nob (1 Sam 21.2-10). Ahimelech, priest of Nob, is willing to give David the Bread of the Presence provided the warriors have had no contact with women (v 5b, EVV4b). David gives the assurance that women have been "kept from" them (178), and that even on non-sacral (שֶׁן (179)) campaigns the same cultic requirement is observed (v 6, EVV5). The use of the term שָׁדָד (v 6, EVV5 a&b), possibly in a euphemistic sense, is a further indication of the specifically sexual aspect of the cultic purity of David and his men (180).

The episode of Uriah the Hittite (2 Sam 11.6-13) provides some evidence to support the practice of warrior chastity. David recalls Uriah in the course of a campaign and attempts, unsuccessfully, to persuade the warrior to go home to his wife. It is clear from the narrative (the wider context of which is David's illicit relationship with Bathsheba) that Uriah is summoned from battle in order to have the opportunity of marital relations (v 11b; cf v 8a (181)), and it is precisely with this that Uriah refuses to comply. Clearly Uriah considers himself still part of the army, and therefore still on active service. The wording of his objection (v 11) does not indicate explicitly that Uriah is ritually bound by an obligation of sexual

abstinence, nevertheless the ritual sanction of warrior chastity may underlie the narrator's presentation of Uriah's refusal (182). In this case the Uriah episode would seem to indicate that the warrior had to observe cultic chastity not only in preparation for battle but during the whole course of a campaign.

Although somewhat less explicit, the declaration in Judges 20.8 may be mentioned in the present connection. Members of the general assembly of the tribes, convoked at Mizpah to decide upon a course of action following the outrage at Gibeon, rise as one man and vow: "Not one of us goes to his tent, no-one returns home". Not returning to the tents may well imply the necessity of preserving the ritual purity of the warriors; this is supported to some extent by the fact that the tribes have come to Mizpah already armed and prepared for battle (v 2). (For the corresponding command, "Return to your tents", vide infra p 45).

The Deuteronomic war code regulations for the safeguarding of the ritual purity of warriors and war camp will be examined in detail in the following pages. Here we may note the release from military service of men who are betrothed or newly married (Dt 20.7; 24.5). In view of the older evidence of cultic chastity as a requirement for the ancient warrior, it is most probable that the Deuteronomic provision has its origin in a more primitive law of warrior chastity. This would suggest that, despite their humanitarian motivation and rationalised presentation, we have to regard the stipulations of the Deuteronomic war code in essence not so much as permitted exemptions from war service but rather as the compulsory disqualification and dismissal of men ritually unfit for battle.

(For cultic chastity in other spheres of Hebrew life, see Additional Note E, infra pp 76-78 ; for the origin of the practice see Additional Note F, infra p 79).

Circumcision

The earliest Old Testament sources (Ex 4.24b-26(J); Josh 5.2-3 (JE)) associate circumcision with adolescence rather than with infancy (Gen 17.9-14 (P)). The demonic element apparent in the Moses/Zipporah episode testifies not only to the primitive thought-background of the rite, but also to a possible pre-Yahwistic Midianite (or Kenite (183)) connection. T.H. Robinson suggests that in the earliest form of the narrative it may have been Moses himself who was circumcised (184); in its present form the narrative indicates vicarious circumcision. The reference to Moses as a "bridegroom of blood" (Ex 4.25b)⁽¹⁸⁵⁾ relates circumcision to marriage, and, more precisely, to a fertility deity; (circumcision as a preparation for marriage is also indicated in Gen

34.14ff (186)). The use of a flint knife (Ex 4.25a) is a further indication of the extreme antiquity of the rite, and at the same time emphasises its essentially cultic character.

Significantly, the primary verses of the Gilgal account retain the reference to the use of flint knives (Josh 5.2-3). The circumcision at Gilgal may have had a more primitive basis than that suggested by the Deuteronomistic explanation (ibid vv 4-7) (187), and may in fact represent (ideally) the consecration of warriors in preparation for the advance into Canaan. M. Weber considers that Joshua 5.8 "shows clearly that the author considered circumcision an affair of the army" (188).

In general terms, given that circumcision was originally administered to adolescents, we can at least state that circumcision was a rite of initiation into the adult life of the tribe and a sign of consecration to the tribal god; initiates therefore would become eligible for adult functions and responsibilities, marriage and military service being the more obvious of these (189). More significantly, however, there is some evidence to show that circumcision may not have been carried out on all males but only in the case of certain categories of men. This is pointed out by H. Ringgren, who notes that in Egypt the rite was necessary only in the case of priests (190). In this connection the reference to "the reproach of Egypt" (Josh 5.9) may be an indication that the Hebrew slaves in Egypt were not circumcised (191). Furthermore, we may infer from Exodus 12.44,48 that in the Israelite community the domestic slave (עֶבֶר) and the resident alien (גֵּר) were not necessarily circumcised. M. Weber also suggests that among the Egyptians circumcision might not have been universally practised, and that it would have been related to the initiation of warriors and the consecration of priests (192). Weber's intriguing conclusion, therefore, is that circumcision was originally associated with warrior asceticism and the initiatory rites of bachelor warriors (193).

Camp purity

Clear evidence of the application of cultic restrictions to warriors is seen in the Deuteronomic regulations for the ritual purity of the military camp: Dt 23.10-15 (EVV 9-14). Three distinct references are presented in the passage (i.e. vv 10, 11-12, 13-15).

In a general introductory statement, verse 10 stipulates the avoidance of all impurity (194) when the army is encamped.

More specifically, verses 11-12 indicate that accidental nocturnal defilement (קִרְיָה לַיְלָה: NEB "emission of seed at night") necessitates the exclusion of the warrior from the camp until sunset and requires that the warrior undergo ritual washing before returning

to camp. The regulation corresponds to the normal levitical purificatory procedure prescribed for physical discharges (Lev 15; note especially vv 16f), omitting, however, the reference to the washing of clothes. The cultic aspect (and basis) of the Deuteronomic regulation is also apparent in the use of the term *מִקְוֵה* (195).

An ordinance unique to the Deuteronomic war code is presented in Dt 23.13-15. This makes provision for a place (designated "a hand" (196)) outwith the camp where the warriors must go to attend to the needs of nature (v 13). Specific mention is also made of a digging-tool (*מַטְבֵּחַ*: literally a tent-peg or stake) carried by the warriors as part of their equipment and used for the burying of excrement (v14). These stipulations, especially considered in conjunction with verses 10ff and with the insistence on camp purity in verse 15, raise the question as to whether natural evacuation constituted ritual defilement. While no explicit statement is made to this effect anywhere in the Old Testament, it is possible that in theory, and perhaps to a lesser degree, natural functions might have been considered ritually unclean in line with, or as an extension of the unclean discharges listed in Leviticus 15. To what extent this might (or could) have been implemented in practice, is more difficult to determine. In the case of the military camp, however, which is a sphere requiring a greater degree of ritual purity than normal life, the categories of defilement may have been extended to include natural functions. The main emphasis in Dt 23.13ff is certainly on the camp as a sacral sphere; the writer is less concerned with details of defilement as such or with the implications of defilement for the warriors (there is for instance no reference to ritual lustration). The passage may therefore preserve the essential elements of an ancient law for camp sanitation, together with equally ancient principles for the maintenance of (warrior) ritual purity. Significantly, this ancient tradition is again revived, at a much later date, by the Essenes. A passage in the account of the Essenes by Josephus presents several notable features which may usefully be compared with Dt 23.13ff. With reference to the performance of natural functions Josephus reports :

"....they dig a foot-deep pit with their mattock -- for of such a nature is the hatchet given by them to their neophytes, and covering themselves up with their cloak, that they may not give offence to the rays of the god (that is, the sun), they sit above it. Then they draw the earth they have dug out back into the pit; and they choose the most deserted place to do this, although this discharge of excrement is a natural function; they are accustomed to wash themselves afterwards, as if defiled" (197).

The reference to a special tool and the description of its use

correspond with the Deuteronomic information. The reference to the "most deserted place" is to some extent equivalent to the "place outside the camp" of Dt 23.13. More significantly, a unique detail included by Josephus may elucidate a phrase in Dt 23.15b. Josephus notes that the Essenes cover themselves with their garment to avoid giving offence to the deity. With this we may compare the Deuteronomic statement that Yahweh must not see "anything indecent" (כִּלְכִּלִּים) in the camp. Taking the primary meaning of כִּלְכִּלִּים as "nakedness" (198), the phrase may be interpreted, "any indecent exposure". The warning therefore may have its ultimate origin in an ancient cultic prohibition in which the real cause of offence to the deity was in fact physical exposure (especially of the private parts). Something of this original connotation is evident in the ancient altar law (Ex 20.24ff (E)), which forbids altar-steps (or stepped altars) in order to prevent priests defiling the altar by the exposing of their "nakedness" (כִּלְכִּלִּים) (199). Thus Dt 23:15b may be seen to form an important tradition-link, on the one hand with an ancient nakedness-tabu, and on the other, with the asceticism of the later Essenes (200).

According to Josephus, the Essenes wash themselves after defecation. This is the feature notably absent in Dt 23.13ff. The statement by Josephus that evacuation is a natural function, and the specific phrase "as if defiled", would seem to indicate that Josephus (and presumably, orthodox Judaism) did not consider natural functions to be ritually defiling. This makes all the more valuable the points of agreement between Josephus' statement on the Essenes and the particular reference to camp purity in Dt 23.13ff. For the Essenes, a more extreme ascetic praxis might well represent a logical extension and application of the levitical ritual purity laws dealing with physical discharges, while the point of contact with the Deuteronomic war code may indicate that the "askesis" of the Essenes and related groups is ultimately linked with primitive Hebrew warrior asceticism.

Another feature of importance in Dt 23.15 is the indication of Yahweh's presence in camp; in the context this is presented as the reason for maintaining ritual purity. G. von Rad contrasts the consistent emphasis elsewhere in Deuteronomy and in the Deuteronomistic writers on the concept of Yahweh dwelling in heaven (201). It is essential to note, however, that Dt 23.15 does not state that Yahweh "dwells" (i.e. has a dwelling place) in the camp (as for instance, Nu 5.3b (P)), but that Yahweh "walks about" (202) in the camp. This may well be a modification on the part of the writer in order to avoid any suggestion of Yahweh dwelling on earth. Moreover, the idea of Yahweh moving about within the camp is completely in keeping with

the holy war motifs of Yahweh accompanying or leading the army and the concept of Yahweh's active presence in battle (vide supra p 20 and note (103)), and is also suggestive of earlier ideas of divine manifestation (203).

Mention may be made of a section of the Priestly Code (Nu 5.1-4) which lists in summary form categories of defilement which exclude both men and women from the wilderness camp: three categories are indicated — skin disease, physical discharge (unspecified), and defilement through contact with a corpse (204). In marked contrast, the Deuteronomic camp-law, dealing exclusively with men, is concerned only with sexual discharge and the performance of natural functions; (in the case of the latter, the original motivation may be the avoidance of indecent exposure). The Deuteronomic emphasis on the sexual sphere is also evident in the ancient qāhāl law of Dt 23.2, according to which any man with defective genitalia is excluded from the cultic levy (205).

Warrior disqualification

The inclusion in the Deuteronomic war code of regulations for release from military service (Dt 20.5-7) raises the question as to the original basis and *raison d'être* of such release. The proposition therefore is that the apparent "exemptions" in the Deuteronomic war code are in fact categories of ritual disqualification and dismissal from military service.

In general, ritual disqualification may be said to follow as an implicit corollary of ritual consecration. Evidence of ritual disqualification, both permanent and temporary, is apparent in every sphere of sacral function, and is best demonstrated with reference to the priesthood. Regulations of the Holiness Code exclude from priestly service men with any physical defect or blemish (Lev 21.16-23). By inference, any of the other categories of ritual defilement would disqualify priests from cultic functions (e.g. Lev 13; 15). More specifically, Lev 21.20b cites ruptured testicles as a disqualification for priests. Again, in the sexual sphere, according to Lev 22.4b, after copulation a member of the priestly tribe is temporarily prohibited from eating his share of the holy offerings. In this connection we have already noted the exclusion of men from military camp and cultic levy because of sexual defilement and genital defect (Dt 23.11f(EVV 10f); 23.2(EVV 1)).

The provision in the Deuteronomic war code for the release from military service of the house builder, vineyard planter and the newly betrothed, would seem to be important evidence of ritual disqualification of warriors at an earlier stage of the tradition history of holy

war. Certainly, in their Deuteronomic form the regulations show considerable modification. The three not entirely similar categories of release are linked together by means of an identical formula, and are given an identical rationalised explanation :

"Any man who has ... A ... and has not ... B ..., let him go and return to his house, lest he die in the battle and another man ... B ..."

The inference is that a man must be allowed to benefit from any new venture or new status (206). The concern for property rights of individuals (i.e. in respect of house and vineyard) assumes the existence of a settled economy and an advanced society. Moreover, in their Deuteronomic presentation, all three categories of release evince a decidedly humanitarian tendency and motivation (207); in this regard, it may be suggested that part of the motivation might be the safeguarding of the rights of the individual vis-à-vis the authority of an autocratic or despotic monarch (208). Furthermore, in itself the very concept of permitted release from military service (as opposed to disqualification) is not entirely consonant with the general conscription necessary to provide militia forces for ancient holy wars (209). It seems probable, therefore, that the regulations of Dt 20.5-7 represent the adaptation of an older war rule to a more advanced society (210).

The most significant modification in the Deuteronomic presentation of the regulations is the obvious shift of emphasis, to the extent that their cultic basis is no longer apparent. The three categories are presented in the form of permitted exemptions (211) rather than as unequivocal disqualification and dismissal from military service. In other words, the focus of concern is the men themselves, their property and marital rights, rather than the army as a sacral unit or the war-camp as a sacral sphere (contrast the fundamental emphasis in the regulations for camp purity, Dt 23.10-15). We must suppose, therefore, that a more fundamental and more primitive *raison d'être* underlies the Deuteronomic presentation of these regulations. In the case of betrothal (and marriage, Dt 24.5), the underlying and original rationale is connected most probably with the concept of sexual defilement and the sex tabu of the ancient cultic warrior (cf supra p 38). House-building and vineyard-planting may not seem at first sight to have any comparable cultic basis. We may presume, however, that these categories (along with the betrothed and newly wed) receive some cultic significance from the very fact that they are inaugural undertakings rendering the respective men ritually tabu as far as military service is concerned. J. Pedersen considers that the sin involved in the non-fulfilment of an undertaking would present a

danger both to the undertaking itself and to the army (212). More specifically, G. von Rad, following F. Schwally, notes that the bridegroom, according to primitive belief, was particularly vulnerable to demonic powers (243). This may well have applied equally to men committed to other inaugural activities, in which case such men would have been regarded as potentially dangerous to the army and to the sacral enterprise of war. On the other hand another factor may be relevant to the exclusion of the house-builder and vineyard-planter from military service, namely the fundamental rejection of permanent houses and the cultivation of the vine by representatives of ancient nomadic Yahwism, notably the Rechabites and possibly (with reference to the vine) the ancient nazirite warriors (214).

In connection with warrior disqualification we must note the deliberate dismissal of men who were afraid. In the tradition of the wars of the Judges, Gideon dismisses from his potential force all who are afraid (Ju 7.3). Even in this earlier passage, however, the dismissal has already lost any primitive sacral motivation, and is presented in the context of the reduction of the size of the army and in line with the holy war concept that numbers are unimportant (ibid vv 2,4a,7; vide supra p 21 & note (108)). The Gideon episode, therefore, would seem to combine two aspects of ancient holy war : the concept that victory does not depend on numbers, and the practice of dismissing from service anyone ritually unfit.

Provision is also made in the Deuteronomic war code for the dismissal of men who were afraid (Dt 20.8). In its present form, this regulation presents only superficial resemblance to the three identical formulations recorded in verses 5-7. This fact, along with the repetition of the introductory reference to the officers addressing the men, would seem to indicate a later insertion (215). On the other hand, by reason of its content, the regulation may be understood in terms of dismissal rather than exemption, and, more importantly, the accompanying explanation, albeit still a rationalising one, namely the demoralising effect of cowards in battle, does in fact make the army the focus of concern in contrast with the presentation of the three categories of release. Behind the presentation of verse 8, therefore, may lie a much older ordinance which required the dismissal of those who were afraid, in the interest of the sacral integrity of the army: in other words, fear, just as much as any category of ritual defilement, rendered a man unfit for military service.

In addition, there may be some formative link between the dismissal of those who were afraid and the ancient war-speech injunction not to be afraid (vide supra p 20 & note (99)). The consistent occurrence of this injunction in ancient war practice, and of the "do not fear"

motif throughout the tradition-history of holy war, implies that men who were afraid were in fact unfit for wars in which victory was guaranteed by Yahweh. It is hardly coincidental, therefore, that the Deuteronomic war-rule combines the injunction "fear not" (as part of the priest's address, Dt 20.3) with the officers' dismissal of those who were afraid (ibid v 8) (216).

Ritual for the return from battle

The procedure for warriors returning to camp or home after battle receives surprisingly little mention in the Old Testament. Even the Deuteronomic war code, despite its emphasis on camp purity (Dt 23.10-15) gives no indication of any kind of purificatory rites for returning warriors. The ancient war narratives are also silent on this point. Some regulations are briefly outlined in the idealistic legislation of Numbers 31.19-24 (P): men who have killed, or who have touched a corpse, must remain outside the camp for seven days; on the third and seventh day ritual cleansing is necessary for themselves, their clothing, captives, and any article of booty brought back. This purificatory procedure, however, merely represents the application to warriors of the general rule dealing with defilement through contact with a corpse (Nu 19.11-19(P); cf less explicitly, Nu 5.2). One might therefore question the reality and practicability of such a procedure, especially since the seven-day ritual exclusion contradicts the more natural and realistic evidence depicting spontaneous victory celebration and the welcome of warriors upon their immediate return from battle (vide supra pp 32f). The immediate and unrestricted return of warriors from battle is further indicated in what seems to be an ancient formula for dismissing troops, namely, the command "Return to your tents" (217).

The characterisation of Yahweh as warrior is consistently attested throughout the literary tradition of the Old Testament. Furthermore, the development of this concept constitutes an essential element in the tradition history of holy war.

Hebrew war-poetry, much of which is extremely ancient, presents a comprehensive portrayal of Yahweh's movement into battle (218). The following passages may be cited as representative examples.

- Ju 5.4-5 Yahweh, at Thy going forth from Seir,
At Thy marching forth from the field of Edom,
Earth trembled, heavens dropped,
Clouds dropped waters;
The mountains streamed before Yahweh,
The One of Sinai,
Before Yahweh, God of Israel.
- 20 From heaven they fought;
The stars from their stations
Fought against Sisera.
- 21a Torrent Kishon swept them away,
Torrent Kishon, primeval torrent.
- Dt 33.2a Yahweh from Sinai came,
And appeared* to them from Seir;
He shone forth from Mount Paran,
And came with myriads of holy ones;
26 There is none like the God of Jeshurun,
Riding the heavens to your help,
Riding the clouds in His majesty.
- Hab 3.3a God from Teman came,
The Holy One from Mount Paran;
6b The eternal mountains were scattered,
The everlasting hills brought low.
9b-10 Thou didst cleave the earth with channels;
The mountains saw Thee and shook.
Torrents of waters overflowed;
The Deep (**דִּינִים**) uttered his voice,
Raised high his hands.
- Ps 68.5b Extol Him who rides across the desert plains.
(EVV 4b)
8-9 O God, at Thy going forth before Thy people,
(EVV 7-8) At Thy marching across the desert,
Earth trembled, heavens dropped before God,
The One of Sinai,
Before God, the God of Israel.
- * **נִרְאָה** "rose", i.e.
as the sun.

- 18
(E V V 17) Myriad upon myriad* were God's chariots, *Ges/Kautzsch
Thousand upon thousand; 97h
When the Lord came from Sinai with the holy ones..
- 34
(E V V 33) To Him who rides across the heavens,
The ancient heavens.
Lo, He thunders with His voice*, *Ges/Kautzsch
A mighty voice. 119q
- 2 Sam 22.8 The earth quaked and trembled,
(=Ps 18.8) The foundations of the heavens moved;
They quaked because He was enraged.
- 9 Smoke went up from His nostrils,
From His mouth devouring fire,
From Him burning coals consuming.
- 10 He bowed down the heavens as He descended,
Thick darkness was at His feet.
- 11 He rode on a cherub and flew;
He was seen* on the wings of the wind. *Ps 18.11
He flew* ^{הֶעָלָה}
- 12 He pavilioned Himself in darkness,
Dense vapours, thick clouds;
- 13 Out of the brilliance before Him
Burning coals of fire consuming.
- 14 From the heavens Yahweh thundered,
Yea, Elyon uttered His voice;
- 15 Arrows sent He forth and scattered them,
Lightning bolts*, and dispersed them; *Ps 18 plural
- 16 Sea torrents were revealed,
Earth's foundations laid bare
At Yahweh's rebuke,
At the blast of the breath of His anger (or, nostrils).
- Isaiah 13.3 Behold, I have given orders to my sanctified ones,
I have summoned my warriors to execute my anger,
My proudly exulting ones*. *Ges/Kautzsch
135n
- 4 Hark! the noise of a multitude in the mountains,
Like a vast people;
Hark! the noise of a tumult,
Kingdoms of nations gathering together;
Yahweh of Hosts is mustering a battle-host.
- 5 They are coming from a distant land,
From the extremity of the heavens:
It is Yahweh with the weapons of His wrath
To destroy the whole earth.
- Joel 4.16a Yahweh will roar out of Sion,
E V V 3.16a) And from Jerusalem will utter His voice;
Heaven and earth will tremble.

In the foregoing examples and in additional comparable passages several characteristic motifs are apparent. Yahweh is especially portrayed as marching forth from the southern mountains (Ju 5.4a; Dt 33.2a; Hab 3.3) and through the desert plains (Ps 68.5b,8 (E V V 4b,7; cf Is 40.3). In some instances He descends from heaven to do battle (2 Sam 22.10a,14; Ps 144.5a; Is 31.4b; 64.1,3; cf Joel 4.11 (E V V 3.11)).

Yahweh's movement into battle is alternatively described as "shining forth" (**נִרְאָה** Hiph'il: Dt 33.2; Ps 50.2; 80.2; 94.1; cf subst. **הִרְאָה**: 2 Sam 22.13a), and as "roaring" (**רָאָה**: Jer 25.30; Hos 11.10; Joel 4.16; Am 1.2; **רָאָה**: Is 42.13) or, "thundering" (**רָאָה**: 1 Sam 2.10a; 7.10b; 2 Sam 22.14; cf Ps 29.3). An extension of the roaring/thundering motif is seen in the phrase **קוֹל רָאָה** (219).

Allusion is frequently made to Yahweh riding the heavens, clouds, or wind (Dt 33.26; 2 Sam 22.11; Ps 68.34(EVV33); 104.3; Is 19.1) (220). Perhaps the image of the desert wind, or even a sand-storm, lies behind the description of Yahweh riding across the desert plains (Ps 68.5(EVV4))(221). In a similar presentation of natural phenomena, the turbulence of river and sea typifies Yahweh's advance with His horses and chariots (Hab 3.8b,15). Characteristic also is the typifying of natural phenomena as Yahweh's weapons: lightning represents Yahweh's arrows (2 Sam 22.15; Ps 144.6; Zech 9.14; cf Hab 3.11b), and the whirlwind His chariots (Is 66.15; Jer 4.13).

Natural elements, in fact, provide the most prominent constituents in the literary presentation of warrior theophany. Yahweh's march to battle is especially portrayed in terms of earthquake and storm. Apart from examples evident in the passages of ancient poetry cited above (Ju 5.4b-5,21; 2 Sam 22.8-16; Ps 68.9(EVV8), reference may also be made to the same war imagery in the following Psalms: Ps 50.3; 60.2; 83.15; 97.2-5; 144.5-6. (222). Significantly, three Old Testament war narratives illustrate Yahweh's control and use of natural elements in battle: at Gibeon, Yahweh casts down hailstones upon the Amorites and makes the sun and moon stand still (Josh 10.11,12b-13); among the Philistines, Yahweh causes terror and confusion by means of thunder (1 Sam 7.10b) and earthquake (1 Sam 14.15b).

The literary presentation of the warrior theophany receives a unique cosmic dimension from references to the heavenly armies which accompany Yahweh's march to battle (Dt 33.2b; Is 13.3-4; Joel 4.11b; Zech 14.5b). Significantly, these are designated "holy ones" (vide supra note (173)), and "mighty warriors" (**גִּבְרֵי יְהוָה**: Is 13.3; Joel 4.11b; cf infra p 69).

The cosmic hosts are vividly portrayed as the stars in battle-stations (Ju 5.20). P.C. Craigie interprets the image with reference to a rain-storm (223). This seems to detract unnecessarily from the cosmic tone of the passage. Moreover, Isaiah 40.26 may be taken to indicate that the stars are the martial retinue of Yahweh (224), and the parallelism in Job 38.7 -- "morning stars"/"sons of God" -- confirms that the stars may be understood to represent heavenly beings.

P.D. Miller sees the reference to the sun and moon standing still at

Gibeon (Josh 10.12b-13) as a possible appeal to the celestial bodies for help in battle (225). The motif of sun and moon standing still recurs in Habakkuk 3.11a as part of Yahweh's march to battle. According to Psalm 68.18 (EVV17) thousands of chariots accompany the divine battle hosts. Yahweh's heavenly army is presumably represented by the fiery horses and chariots which form the protective circle round Elisha (2 K 6.16-17). Furthermore, the sound in the tree-tops (2 Sam 5.24) and the noise of horses and chariots (2 K 7.6) may also be understood as part of the same cosmic imagery. We may also compare the apocalyptic vision of chariots and horses in Zechariah 6.1-3. In Joel 2.1-11 the apocalyptic portrayal of the heavenly army is dramatically and forcefully presented by means of the image of a plague of locusts. That this is much more than simply a description of a plague of locusts may be inferred from the additional features in the passage (226).

Joel 2.11 explicitly mentions Yahweh's (heavenly) army (^{שָׁמַיִם} and ^{צְבָאוֹתָיו}). Reference may also be made to the etiological place-name Mahanaim which apparently preserves an ancient tradition based on the concept of the "army of God" (Gen 32.2f (EVV1f); for the phrase, cf 1 Chr 12.22). We have another reminder of this concept in the apparition which confronts Joshua near Jericho (Josh 5.13-5); here a man with drawn sword announces himself as the commander of Yahweh's host (^{יְהוָה} - ^{צְבָאוֹתָיו}) (227).

The essential features of the warrior theophany are taken up by the prophetic literary tradition. Natural phenomena -- earthquake, storm, lightning, rain, hail, flood -- are particularly explicit in the oracles against foreign nations, and also provide the background imagery of the Day of Yahweh concept (228).

In the prophetic tradition greater stress is placed on the disruption of nature than on Yahweh's use of the forces of nature. This is especially clear in the apocalyptic visions where natural phenomena take on the character of portents of imminent disaster. Two notable examples may be cited.

And all the host of heaven shall be consumed,
And the heavens shall be rolled up like a scroll;
And all their host shall fade,
As leaf withers from the vine
And falling fruit from the fig tree. Isaiah 34.4

And I will produce portents in the heavens
and on the earth,
Blood, and fire, and pillars of smoke;
The sun shall be turned into darkness
and the moon into blood,
Before the great and terrible Day of Yahweh comes.
Joel 3.3-4 (EVV2.30f)

Noteworthy also is the emphasis on darkness (229), and on the darkening of the celestial bodies (230).

In the presentation of the earthquake imagery some shift of emphasis may be observed, inasmuch as the shaking or trembling of heaven, earth, and mountains is transferred to people and nations (231). The "fire" motif is particularly prominent in the prophetic tradition. It is important to note that here the motif is indicative not simply of theophany as such -- as for instance in the Exodus and Sinai traditions (232) -- but forms an integral part of the characterisation of Yahweh as warrior. This is apparent in two distinct series of references. Firstly, the fire motif is taken up into the context of storm and natural phenomena -- that is, the specifically warrior-theophany imagery (233). Secondly, the fire motif serves to illustrate Yahweh's warrior-activity, specifically indicating Yahweh's intended destruction of nations by fire (234).

Natural phenomena again feature prominently in the idealised and retrospective interpretation of the Exodus-Conquest tradition. Yahweh's action against Egypt includes the sending of destroying hail, rain and thunder (Ex 9.18f, 22-25, 28f, 33f; Ps 78.47ff; 105.32). The function of the pillar of cloud and fire, leading the people (Ex 13.21f) and providing protective cover (Ex 14.19b-20; Josh 24.7), is a familiar part of the deliverance.

The miracle of the crossing of the Sea, narrated in a prose version (Ex 14) and celebrated in the Song of the Sea (Ex 15) and elsewhere, features Yahweh's control of wind and sea, and especially emphasises the destruction of the enemy by these elements (Ex 14.21f, 26ff; 15.1, 4-6, 8, 10, 19, 21; Ps 78.53b; 136.15; cf also: Dt 11.4; Josh 24.7; Is 43.17; Am 9.5b; Neh 9.11b).

Yahweh's saving act is described in specific terms as "dividing" or "drying up" the Sea, and in several phrases relating to the crossing of the Sea (235).

Especially significant is the characterisation of the deliverance as Yahweh's warrior action against the Sea. The most important aspect of this characterisation is the remarkable fusion of mythic and historical features: thus, the historical crossing of the Reed Sea is described in terms of the primitive chaos-battle myth. Accordingly, the Reed Sea is typified as the mythical sea-monster, and as such is variously designated: Rahab, Leviathan, Tannin, T^ehom. Yahweh's action in parting the waters is described in terms of His battle with these monsters. The following illustrations may be noted in this connection:

Thou hast broken Rahab (236) in pieces as one slain.

Ps 89.11 (EVV10)

Art Thou not He that hath cut Rahab
and slain the monster*;

* אֲנִי (237)

Art Thou not He that hath dried the Sea,
the waters of the great Deep*,

* אֲנִי (238)

That hath made the depths of the Sea a way
for the ransomed to pass over ?

Is 51.9b-10 (cf Is 63.12-13a)

Thou didst divide the Sea by Thy power;

Thou didst break the heads of the sea-monsters (MT אֲנִי) upon the waters;

Thou didst crush the heads of Leviathan*.

* אֲנִי (239)

Ps 74.13-14a

On that Day Yahweh

With His cruel sword, His great and powerful sword,

Will punish Leviathan, the slithering serpent,

The twisting serpent Leviathan,

And will slay the monster* of the deep.

* אֲנִי

Is 27.1

We may compare the following lines from the cosmological poem in Job 26.5-14 :

With His strength He quelled the Sea;

With His skill He dashed Rahab in pieces;

His hand slaying the slithering serpent.

vv 12,13b

Notable in several passages is the combination of mythic, historical, and warrior-theophany features; thus: 2 Sam 22.8-18 (=Ps 18); Ps 77.17-21 (EVV 16-20); Ps 144.5-7; Hab 3.3-15; Nah 1.3b-6,8; Ezk 32.2-10; cf also: Ps 114; Ps 135.6-12; Is 28.2.

To some extent the chaos-battle terminology is discernible in the Song of the Sea (Ex 15.5,8,10). Furthermore, in certain passages the Sea itself takes on the character of the primordial chaos-waters (Ps 68.22; 78.13; 114.3,5; Is 11.15; cf Zech 10.11) (240). This is especially evident in the concept of the "many waters" (241). The turbulent movement of the chaos-waters may also be indicated in the motif of the Sea, or waters, being put to flight (Ps 114.3a,5a; Ps 104.7a). Similar use of mythical terminology is apparent in descriptions of Yahweh's power in creation and control of natural forces (242).

Mention may also be made of Yahweh's Holy Mountain and related concepts frequently attested in the Book of Psalms and in the prophetic literature. These concepts are undoubtedly influenced by the cosmic mountain (especially Zaphon, the mountain of Baal the warrior) which features prominently in the Ugaritic myths. (243).

The traditional portrayal of Yahweh as warrior is supported by additional literary evidence.

Yahweh's warrior activity is especially epitomised in the ancient Song of Miriam (Ex 15.20f) and in the proverbial expression indicating

Yahweh's perpetual conflict with Amalek (Ex 17.16). Similarly, the ancient Song of the Ark (Nu 10.35f) essentially preserves a tradition of Yahweh's role in the wars of the Conquest; (for the use of the Ark in battle, vide supra pp 18f). Significantly, David's battles are called "Yahweh's wars" (1 Sam 18.17; 25.28).

References to collections of war poetry testify to the existence from an early date of a written tradition preserving details of Yahweh's saving acts. Numbers 21.14 mentions as a literary source the Book of the Wars of Yahweh (סֵפֶר מִלְחָמוֹת יְהוָה); something of the content is indicated in verses 14b-15 which refer to Yahweh's actions at the Reed Sea and on the journey to the borders of Moab. Joshua 10.13a mentions the Book of Yashar ("the Upright"; סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר) as the source of the episode at Gibeon when the sun and moon stood still (vv 12ff). In 2 Samuel 1.18b the Book of Yashar appears again as the source of David's lament for Saul and Jonathan (vv 19-27). (244). We may also note, with reference to the ancient saying about Yahweh's perpetual war with Amalek, that Yahweh's word against Amalek is to be written in a book (Ex 17.14).

The literary presentation of Yahweh as warrior includes the use of certain descriptive epithets and appellations. The most distinctive of these, and by far the most frequently used, is the title Yahweh of hosts (245). The attempted explanation of the phrase gives rise to considerable variety of opinion among scholars. Discussion centres mainly on the meaning of the term "hosts", in regard to which several writers would limit the interpretation to a particular connotation (246). It is more likely, however, that the term applies to all powers and bodies under Yahweh's control and command (247), and therefore that it may be taken to indicate generally the omnipotence of Yahweh. This is especially borne out in the Septuagint translation, where, out of some 200 instances, 121 are rendered by the Greek *κύριος παντοκράτωρ*, and 25 by *κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων* (248). More important, therefore, than analysing the term "hosts" is the need to examine the meaning and ethos of the phrase Yahweh of hosts as a whole.

It is significant in the first instance that it is the God of Israel who is thus designated. The juxtaposition of Yahweh of hosts and God of Israel (249), along with the emphatic statement: "Yahweh of hosts is His name" (250), might lead us to suppose that the title Yahweh of hosts is intended to indicate an enlarged concept of Israel's God over against the more limited idea of the tribal god, the "God of the Fathers" (251). Yahweh of hosts, therefore, is not so much a new name or an additional epithet, but rather a new extension of the concept of

the God of Israel.

The distribution of the phrase in the Old Testament indicates a predominantly prophetic usage covering the whole era of the classical prophets from the eighth century to the late post-exilic period. It is probable, however, that the concept is more ancient than the literary tradition of the prophets (252). Particularly interesting is the association of the phrase with the archaic warrior-terminology in Psalm 24 (vv 7-10; cf Jer 32.18b-19a). In addition, several scholars assume a connection with the ancient Ark (253). Although belonging to the later literary strand of Samuel (254), 1 Samuel 1.3,11 may preserve an earlier authentic tradition of the association of the name Yahweh of hosts with the ancient sanctuary at Shiloh (255).

A more important consideration is the range of contexts in which the phrase occurs. Examination of these related contexts indicates that the epithet is closely associated with the characteristic motifs of the holy war tradition, and especially with the imagery of warrior-theophany (256). It would seem reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the epithet Yahweh of hosts has its ultimate origin within the holy war tradition of ancient Israel, and more especially in relation to the concept and portrayal of Yahweh as all-powerful creator, warrior, and king.

The presentation of Yahweh as warrior is further indicated in such archaic phrases as:

יְהוָה אֵשׁ גִּלְחָדָה Ex 15.3; Is 42.13;

יְהוָה גִּבּוֹר גִּלְחָדָה Ps 24.8b;

יְהוָה צִוּוּ וְגִבּוֹר Ps 24.8a;

and in the appellation אֵל גִּבּוֹר (Is 10.21; cf the messianic context, Is 9.5(EVV 6); note also the extended phrase קִיָּם הַגִּבּוֹר,

Dt 10.17; Neh 9.32a; Jer 32.18. The description of Yahweh as is further attested in: Ps 45.4(EVV 3); Is 42.13a; Jer 20.11; Zeph 3.17; for the meaning of the term, cf infra p 69).

The application to Yahweh of other א titles supports the characterisation of Yahweh as God of might and warrior par excellence (257).

The concept of Yahweh as king (258) is frequently associated with the portrayal of Yahweh as warrior. Psalm 24 provides the foremost illustration. The Psalm opens with a definitive statement of Yahweh's universal sovereignty (259), and presents in verses 7-10 an explicit description of the divine king-warrior returning victorious from battle. The original imagery is best understood in terms of the mythical wars of the gods. Two features are especially significant:

the archaic terms describing Yahweh, and, the motif of the gate(-towers) raising their heads. F. Stolz suggests that the archaic titles גִּשְׁרֵי and גִּבּוֹר, and the idea of גִּבּוֹר, belong originally to the Canaanite El (260). The puzzling motif of gates lifting up their heads may be elucidated by reference to a similar motif in a Ugaritic text where Baal rebukes the assembled gods (261).

Significantly, the concept of Yahweh as king is also found in contexts of warrior-theophany imagery and mythical imagery, and in conjunction with the title Yahweh of hosts. (262).

The Song of the Sea proclaims that Yahweh has "triumphed gloriously" (Ex 15.1,21), and that He will reign for ever (v 18) (263).

Noteworthy also is the reference to Yahweh as king along with the allusion to the Conquest in Psalm 44.4f(EVV 3f).

L. Köhler sees the warrior activity of Yahweh as an aspect of His being king and judge (264).

The role of Yahweh in battle

The concept of Yahweh as warrior is more directly expressed in terms of divine intervention and participation in battle. (265). A wide range of familiar terminology is used to express Yahweh's destruction of the enemy and the desolation of land and cities by His action (266). The variety of the terminology and the consistency of usage indicate not simply a naive anthropomorphism, but rather the reality of divine intervention in the affairs of men and nations. Thus, Yahweh's actions are designated "acts of power" (267); in particular, they are seen as warrior action against historical enemies and as acts of historical deliverance (268). From the examples listed in note (266) it may be observed that references to Yahweh's warrior activity are evident throughout the literary presentation of the holy war tradition, notably in the context of the Exodus and Conquest traditions, in the wars of the Judges, and in the wars of Saul and David as well as those of the later monarchy. Significantly, in the prophetic and apocalyptic traditions (especially in the prophetic oracles and in the Day of Yahweh concept), Yahweh's judgment against His own people as well as against foreign nations is expressed in terms of His imminent warrior action. In this connection we may note frequent reference to Yahweh's use of other nations as the instruments of His will and purpose (269).

Of special importance is Yahweh's decisive action in inducing panic and confusion among the enemy, causing them to fight against each other, or sending them into headlong flight (270). The epithet אֶרֶץ (271),

frequently found in phrases descriptive of Yahweh's warrior activity, may be regarded as closely related to the "panic" motif. Moreover, an extension of the "panic" concept may be seen in the transference of the source of the fear from Yahweh to His people or their leader (272). Frequent reference is also made to the demoralising effect on the enemy of Yahweh's presence or power: hearts melt (273), hands become feeble (274), knees knock or become weak as water (275), men are gripped with pain as women in childbirth (276), men and nations are made to tremble (277).

The presentation of Yahweh's activity in battle is heightened by a certain emphasis on miraculous intervention (278). Noteworthy is the idealistic portrayal of the concept of miracle in the highly stylised literary presentation of a number of Old Testament war narratives (279). In its ultimate presentation, the holy war tradition features divine intervention (in some cases by the agency of "the angel of Yahweh" (280)) to the complete exclusion of human warrior participation (281). A motif closely related to the concept of miracle is evident in the description of Yahweh as the God who "does wonders" (282).

Yahweh's warrior activity finds expression in a number of significant stereotyped phrases and motifs.

The Conquest tradition is epitomised in Yahweh's "driving out" of the inhabitants of the land (283).

In the battles of the Hebrews it is universally acknowledged that "Yahweh fought for Israel" (284). Very frequently the pattern of the battle narrative indicates that Yahweh "delivered" the enemy "into the hand" of His people (285).

Throughout the holy war tradition Yahweh is presented as the author and giver of victory (286). In this connection we may note a recurrent phrase which effectively sums up the *raison d'être* of Yahweh's warrior activity: "....that all (or, you) may know there is a God in Israel" (287).

Mention may again be made of the prophetic use of the fire motif, especially to indicate Yahweh's threatened destruction of cities and nations (*vide supra* p 50).

Yahweh's action against the enemy is expressed more directly in frequent references to His outstretched hand or arm (288).

Exclusive to the prophetic and apocalyptic tradition is the motif of Yahweh's sword (289).

Furthermore, famine and pestilence, which might be considered natural consequences of war and devastation, are also presented in the prophetic writings as part of Yahweh's action against the nations (290).

Additional related motifs are presented in the prophetic tradition, especially in the oracles against foreign nations and in the context of the Day of Yahweh concept.

An important motif is that of Yahweh gathering the nations for battle and destruction (291).

In the oracles, Yahweh's challenge to the nations is summed up in the expression: "I am against thee ...(nation or ruler named)..." (292).

R. de Vaux suggests that the phrase is a prophetic revival of the ancient warrior challenge to single combat (293).

Special emphasis is laid on the degree and extent of Yahweh's destroying action. Total annihilation of the enemy is universally indicated (294). This is confirmed by three related motifs: the enemy will have "no remnant", there will be "no escape", and flight will be unsuccessful (295). Similarly, Yahweh's destruction of land and cities will result in complete decimation of population: cities will be "without inhabitants", or alternatively, be inhabited by wild creatures (296). The extent of the devastation is further indicated in the assertion that bodies remain unburied, or become food for the birds and beasts of the wild (297).

In addition, the prophetic presentation of Yahweh's warrior activity is dramatically heightened by a range of expressions denoting the effect of the destruction of nations upon the observer or passer-by. Thus, the afflicted nations will become a proverb and by-word, a taunt and reproach, an astonishment, a curse and execration (298); the passer-by draws in his breath (פָּרַץ) and shakes his head in horror and astonishment (299).

The Day of Yahweh

The prophetic concept of the Day of Yahweh (300) merits special attention as a possible link with the ancient holy war tradition. Although the phrase (301) is confined to certain prophetic passages (especially in the oracles against the nations (302)), the origin and ethos of the concept may well go back to ideas and principles intrinsic to the ancient holy war tradition (303); certainly, the concept, as presented by the prophets, is entirely congruous with Yahweh's active and decisive role in the ancient war tradition.

It is clear from the first literary appearance of the phrase (Am 5. 18-21) that a developed concept of the Day of Yahweh is already familiar in the time of Amos, albeit understood by the popular mind solely in terms of a day of triumph for Israel and defeat for her enemies --- hence the prophet's desire to refute the popular belief

and hope of his contemporaries. The literary evidence indicates to what extent the prophets have reinterpreted and transformed the concept, at the same time retaining and reinforcing its essential character and quality as an integral facet of the holy war tradition. In this connection we may note among the consistent elements of the prophetic presentation the frequent occurrence of various holy war motifs and concepts (304). One would however hesitate to accept without qualification von Rad's statement that "the entire material for this imagery which surrounds the concept of the Day of Yahweh is of old Israelite origin" (305), since the prophets make their own unique contribution to the development of the concept -- for example, in their emphasis on divine wrath, judgment and punishment (306). Von Rad concludes his discussion of the Day of Yahweh with the suggestion that the exclamation "the Day of Yahweh is at hand" may be a formula already current in the ancient war tradition (as a summons to arms, or a battle-cry) which "is only accidentally missing from the ancient accounts or poetry" (307). It would seem more reasonable to attempt to establish a link between the Day of Yahweh concept and the holy war tradition from the textual evidence which the ancient accounts do in fact present. A recurring time-statement in the holy war narratives may provide such a link: the time of Yahweh's action or deliverance is consistently and emphatically designated "to-morrow" (308). Thus Yahweh addresses Joshua: "To-morrow I will deliver them up all slain before Israel" (Josh 11.6), and assures Phinehas: "To-morrow I will deliver them into thine hand" (Ju 20.28). Significantly, in the much later passage, 2 Chr 20.16,17, Yahweh's encouragement is relayed by the inspired Levite: "To-morrow go down against them.... to-morrow go out against them". We may compare the similar emphasis on "to-morrow" in Yahweh's "signs" in Egypt (Ex 8.23; 9.5,18; 10.4), and in Joshua's statement: "To-morrow Yahweh will do wonders among you" (Josh 3.5; cf Elijah's prophecy, 2 K 7.1). In each instance, "to-morrow" refers to, and is fulfilled in the day of Yahweh's deliverance or action. Furthermore, there is a comparable emphasis on the actuality of the day of Yahweh's decisive action. This is evident in Deborah's oracle to Barak: "... this is the day in which Yahweh has delivered Sisera into your hand..." (Ju 4.14), and in David's challenge to Goliath: "This day Yahweh will deliver you into my hand..." (1 Sam 17.46f; note also, Ex 14.13; Dt 2.25; 9.3). A similar nuance may be discerned in a number of general references to Yahweh's acts of deliverance (309).

It may be suggested, therefore, that the phrase Day of Yahweh is a conceptual formulation deriving from, or based upon the specific designation of time in the holy war narratives.

The use and application of the Day of Yahweh concept are of foremost importance. For the prophets, the Day of Yahweh is not only a future event. The concept has its counterpart (and presumably therefore its roots) in Yahweh's decisive actions both in the distant past of Israel's ancient holy wars, and in the more immediate historical events of the prophets' own experience. Accordingly, a significant tradition-history link is provided by Isaiah when he refers to Gideon's battle with the Midianites as "the Day of Midian" (Is 9.3; cf 10.26; (Ju 7)), and sees this as relevant for the contemporary situation and for the prophetic message of (messianic) hope. In another passage, Yahweh's new action is understood in terms of an outstanding ancient victory over the Philistines:

"Yahweh will rise up as on Mount Perazim,
He will rage as in the valley of Gibeon." (310)

Is 28.21 (2 Sam 5.20,25 = 1 Chr 14.11,16).

Similarly, Yahweh's imminent overthrow of Babylon has its prototype in the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Is 13.19 (Gen 19.24f)).

With greater frequency the prophets interpret the critical, historical events of their own time in terms of the Day of Yahweh.

In a passage which may best be interpreted in the light of Sennacherib's invasion of Judah (701 BC) and Hezekiah's surrender and payment of tribute (Is 22.1-14; cf 2 K 18.13-6), Isaiah states emphatically: "Truly (it was) a day of confusion, tramping down and turmoil (brought about) by the Lord Yahweh of hosts" (Is 22.5a). Jeremiah designates as the Day of Yahweh Nebuchadrezzar's defeat of the Egyptian army at Carchemish (605 BC) (Jer 46.10; note similarly, ibid v 21b, possibly with reference to Nebuchadrezzar's conquest of Egypt in 568 BC).

In his invective against the false prophets (sc. professional cult prophets), Ezekiel refers to the catastrophe of Jerusalem (587 BC) as "the battle in the Day of Yahweh" (Ezk 13.5b). A similar interpretation may be possible for the allusion: "the day of cloud and darkness" (Ezk 34.12end; note also the phrase: "the day of Jerusalem", Ps 137.7).

Significantly, Obadiah and the writers of Lamentations not only see the catastrophe of Jerusalem (which has taken place) as the Day of Yahweh, but foresee the future visitation upon Judah's enemies in the same terms (Obad 11,12,13 : 8,15; Lam 1.12b; 2.21b,22b : 1.21b; 4.21f).

The concept of the Day of Yahweh, therefore, remains the focal point of the prophetic message for the contemporary historical, political and religious situation, and becomes moreover the incisive term of

reference for prophetic predictions of Yahweh's future decisive action.

The future aspect of the Day of Yahweh receives special emphasis from the characteristic term יִדְּבָר , which denotes its imminent arrival (311). This aspect is especially evident in the oracles against Israel/Judah (312). In addition, numerous references to Yahweh's imminent action against named nations (including Israel/Judah) under the more general designation "the day" or "that day", are evidently part of the Day of Yahweh tradition (313).

From prophetic predictions concerning individual nations the concept of the Day of Yahweh is extended and transformed into an event of universal and eschatological character embracing Yahweh's ultimate judgment upon, and warrior activity against all nations (314). Here not only are the urgency and immediacy of the Day of Yahweh re-emphasised, the characteristic descriptive imagery also receives its fullest expression.

Some connection with the Day of Yahweh theme may be discerned in Daniel's assessment of contemporary history and especially in his presentation of the end-event: the relevant terms in Daniel are מִיָּדָיו (Yahweh's appointed time), and יָדָיו (the eschatological end-event) (315).

Moralistic and theological overtones

The references to divine anger, judgment and punishment in the prophetic presentation of the Day of Yahweh concept (supra note (306)), are representative of an extensive development of moralistic and theological overtones which form a major contribution by the classical prophets to the tradition-history of holy war. References are found particularly in the oracles against the nations and are frequent also in the Psalms.

Of signal importance is the moralistic interpretation of catastrophe: disaster and defeat are understood in terms of Yahweh's anger, vengeance and judgment (316), and explained as divine punishment (317). A unique innovation is the interpretation of disaster as discipline and testing (318).

The moralistic aspect of the prophetic tradition is again evident in the distinctive characterisation of the enemy as wicked, proud, arrogant, boastful, blasphemous and rebellious (319). Moreover, in a further extension of the tradition, these categories are stated to be the reason for the punishment and destruction of the enemy (320).

Yahweh's role in battle and human warrior activity

The extensive and emphatic portrayal of Yahweh as warrior raises the question of the fighting role of the human warrior and necessitates a review of the relation between divine intervention and human warrior participation in the total perspective of the holy war tradition. In practice and idealistically, directly and indirectly, Yahweh's warrior-role is clearly and consistently delineated. At the same time, the role of the human warrior, and the evidence of real fighting, must not be overlooked. Accordingly, the role of the divine warrior and that of the human warrior would seem to be two essentially inter-related (and by no means necessarily mutually exclusive) factors in the Old Testament presentation of holy war. In the development of the holy war tradition, various aspects of the divine-human relation are to be observed.

In the earliest literary sources, both poetic and narrative, the emphasis on Yahweh's decisive action does not exclude or detract from human warrior activity (321). Thus, in the Song of Deborah, the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali risk their lives in mortal combat (Ju 5.18; cf v 19). In the narrative account of the battle the role of the human warriors is to pursue and slaughter the fleeing enemy (Ju 4.16). Human warrior participation is understood as "coming to the help of Yahweh" (Ju 5.23b). In this connection we may assume a military connotation for the epithet *עם יהוה* (note especially: Ju 5.11b, cf v 13; 20.2; for a similar implication cf Ex 7.4; Josh 6.5) (322).

In the Conquest and Settlement tradition a definite fighting role is assigned to "Israel" (323). Human forces play a considerable supportive role following the divine initiative in throwing the enemy into confusion or "delivering them into the hand" of His people (324). Particularly important is the application to human forces of the motif (more frequently applied to Yahweh) of "driving out" the inhabitants of the land (325). Furthermore, warrior activity would seem to be implied in the description of the Hebrew tribes "going armed before Yahweh to battle", and "in battle array" (326). The ritual slaughter of the enemy (*herem*), which is the final action in holy war, is essentially an obligation laid upon the human warrior (327).

Frequent reference is made to human initiative and real fighting in the wars of the Judges (328).

Similarly, the narratives dealing with the wars of the monarchic period provide ample evidence of human endeavour and warrior action (329); especially noteworthy are the references to the heroic deeds of David's

mighty warriors. David's own military prowess is celebrated in the acclaim: "Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands" (1 Sa. 18.7; 21.11).

The Book of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic writers make a significant contribution to the Conquest/Settlement tradition (and indeed to the holy war tradition). In keeping with the pronounced military theology of Deuteronomy, its revival of ancient war rules, and its unique presentation of war speeches, significant emphasis is placed on human warrior activity; (for Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic references, see notes (323) - (327)). Again we may note the "driving out" of the inhabitants of the land, and especially the emphasis on herem. M. Weinfeld compares salient features in a Deuteronomic war speech (Dt 7) with corresponding details in the epilogue to the Book of the Covenant (Ex 23.20-23), and notes pertinently that the Deuteronomist has "shifted the focal point from the warring deity to the warring Israelites" (330).

In contrast to the foregoing aspects of the holy war tradition, the Deliverance from Egypt is presented exclusively as the saving act of Yahweh (331). Here, as in the spiritualised war narratives (vide note (83)), the role of the human warrior is, in the main, passive: Israel has but to "stand still, and see the salvation of Yahweh" (Ex 14.13). Similarly, the prophetic tradition (especially the oracles against the nations and the Day of Yahweh concept) emphasises Yahweh's dominant role in the overthrow of nations.

The aspects of exclusive divine intervention and miraculous deliverance, characteristic of the spiritualised war narratives, reach their climax in the unique battle presentation of 2 Chronicles 20 (note especially verses 15,17,22 ; vide supra pp 20f). Significantly, however, the writings of the Chronicler provide some evidence of human warrior activity and of the association of divine and human action in battle (332).

Finally, we may note a passage in Psalm 60.14(EVV12) (=Ps 108.14(EVV13)) which effectively sums up the divine-human relation in battle:

Through God we shall do valiantly,
For He is the one who will trample down our enemies. (333).

Additional Note A

Criticism of von Rad's assessment of the historical scope of holy war.

R. Smend is fundamentally opposed to the idea of amphictyonic war and makes a radical distinction between "amphictyony" and "Yahweh war", suggesting that the Yahweh-war tradition had its origin in connection with Joseph and the Rachel tribes, and that the amphictyonic element was contributed by the Leah tribes.

Smend, op.cit. pp 103f, 106f; for his opposition to amphictyonic war, cf ibid pp 11-16, 18-23, 26-29, 39f, 42, 43, 51f, 135.

M. Weippert also questions von Rad's relating of the institution of holy war to the supposed amphictyony of Hebrew tribes

(ZAW 84 1972 pp 462-465, cf ibid p 468)

and proposes as the organisational form of the settled Israelites in the pre-monarchic period, "quasi-democratic independent states on a tribal basis, and smaller dominions".

Weippert, ibid p 488 n123; cf also Weippert, The Settlement of the Israelite tribes in Palestine, ET 1971 pp 7f.

Weippert also rejects as a solution Smend's separation of Yahweh war and amphictyony (ZAW 84 p 465).

In his brief outline of the problem G. Fohrer presents a more decisive argument against a tribal confederacy.

Fohrer, op.cit. pp 89-96.

The amphictyonic hypothesis Fohrer considers "unproven and improbable".

Fohrer, ibid p 90; cf ibid p 93: "The schema of the Twelve Tribes of Israel does not point to a sacral tribal league".

Fohrer further insists that in the period of the Judges "there was no advance beyond a juxtaposition of tribes without common leadership".

Fohrer, ibid p 94.

It is possible, therefore, that the question of tribal organisation and interrelation during the Conquest and Settlement has no direct bearing on the origin and practice of holy war, in which case the existence or non-existence of a Hebrew confederation or amphictyony may well be irrelevant. We may agree with F. Stolz that the amphictyonic hypothesis raises more problems than it solves.

Stolz, op.cit. pp 7,12,198; cf ibid pp 12f for his criticism of Smend's concept of Yahweh war.

It is interesting to note that von Rad himself remarks that "the eccentric behaviour of the tribes....was always more powerful than their sense of solidarity".

Von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 28foot.

Similarly, R. de Vaux sounds a cautionary note against over-emphasising Greek ideas of amphictyony in connection with Israelite

tribal confederation.

R. de Vaux, *op.cit.* p 93; cf his statement on the same page:
 "The narratives in the Book of Judges present the federation of tribes as a body without any organised government and lacking real political adhesion".

F.M. Cross criticises von Rad's restriction of the institution of holy war to Israel's defensive wars in the era of the Judges, and makes two important points: von Rad's view contradicts "the unanimous witness of Israelite tradition that the wars of Yahweh were par excellence the wars of the Conquest", and, "fails to deal with the elements in holy war as practised by earliest Israel and by pre-Yahwistic or non-Yahwistic peoples".

F.M. Cross, Jr., *The Divine Warrior in Israel's Cult*, in P.W. Lown, *Institute of Advanced Judaic Studies*, vol 3 1966 (Biblical Motifs) ed. A. Altmann, p 17. Note also Cross' statement that the institution of holy war existed in several pre-Yahwistic or non-Yahwistic leagues in southern Palestine --- Moab, Edom and Midian, *ibid* p 28.

Cross further indicates that ancient cultic traditions associate holy war with the divine acts of the Exodus and Conquest, and more particularly, he draws attention to the significant motif of Yahweh's descent from the southern mountains and the accompanying war-imagery evident in the oldest Biblical poems.

Cross, *ibid* pp 25f; cf W. Eichrodt, *op.cit.* vol 1 p 228.

Of foremost importance for the background of the holy war tradition is the fact that the Deliverance from Egypt by Yahweh is the leading theme in the Pentateuch and becomes one of the leading articles of Israel's faith.

See especially, M. Noth, *History of Israel*, ET 1960 pp 111f; von Rad, *OT Theology*, vol 1 pp 12f, 121f, 281f, 157ff.

Referring to the Wilderness period, C.A. Simpson suggests that it was possibly some experience of battle deliverance which led to the Hebrew tribes' association with Yahweh. Simpson notes further that the role of Yahweh as god of war, and the identification of the warrior-god with the god of the storm (already complete in the Song of Deborah), are indicative of a long-established link.

C.A. Simpson, *Early Traditions of Israel*, 1948 p 424.

R. Smend likewise argues for the origin of "Yahweh war" before the time of the Conquest and especially in connection with the Mosaic tradition.

Smend, *op.cit.* pp 110-114, 133.

R. de Vaux notes briefly the authenticity of the tradition, embodied in the Book of Joshua, which describes the Conquest as the holy war.

R. de Vaux, *op.cit.* p 262.

Gwilym H. Jones finds von Rad's description of Israel's wars as defensive too restrictive and rightly criticises the attempt to define holy war as a distinctive category.

G.H. Jones, *An examination of some leading motifs in the prophetic oracles against foreign nations*, 1972 p 134.

F. Stolz, *op.cit.* p 199, considers the question of defensive or offensive irrelevant.

Jones also refers to the series of ancient Hebrew war poems and notes that these preserve "an ancient warfare tradition relating to the periods of the Exodus and Conquest" (*ibid* p 135). There is much merit in his suggestion that von Rad's concept of holy war should be widened "to include other traditions which preserve the idea of sacral warfare where God is involved in war" (*ibid* pp 135f).

P.D. Miller presents a lucid and detailed analysis of the divine warrior and the heavenly armies in early Hebrew poetry, emphasising especially the remarkable fusion of cosmic and historical elements.

P.D. Miller, Jr., *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel*, Harvard Semitic Monographs 5 1973, pp 74-127; for the fusion of the cosmic element and the historical "march of conquest", note especially *ibid.*, pp 83,85f (with reference to Dt 33.2-5,26-29); 102ff, 106-110 (Ps 68); 113-117 (Ex 15); 118ff (Hab 3.3-15); 121f (2 Sam 22.7-18 = Ps 18); 123,127 (Josh 10.12f).

Similarly, Peter C. Craigie makes a very useful contribution to the study of holy war in the earliest period by his survey of early war poetry in Israelite, Akkadian and Arabic literature. Particularly pertinent is his reference to the centrality of the war-concept in early Israelite religion. Of ancient Israelite warfare Craigie writes:

"it was in no way simply a political activity divorced from the religious life of the Israelites, rather it was essentially concerned with the essence of Israelite religion, for the promises inherent in the Covenant were to be fulfilled through war".

P.C. Craigie, *Ancient Semitic War Poetry* (M.Th., thesis, Aberdeen) 1968 p 7; note also Craigie's point that war poetry presents a more realistic picture of religious feeling and attitudes than the more formal and refined literature (*ibid* pp 9foot-10). The suggested connection of war with the Covenant tradition (and the promise of a land) supports the existence of the holy war concept in the earliest (Wilderness and Conquest) period.

In this connection also we may note Smend's equally pertinent conclusion that "the war of Yahweh....would have been the original element of what in time was destined to become the religion of Israel"

Smend, *op.cit.* p 134.

M. Weippert also indicates the need to widen the area of research beyond Israel and beyond the Old Testament. His sphere of reference is the cuneiform texts of the Kings of the neo-Assyrian Kingdom. These texts, Weippert demonstrates, present a picture similar to that which von Rad sketches of holy war in Israel.

Weippert, *ZAW* 84, p 483.

(Additional Note A)

Specifically, Weippert asserts : "For a fundamental discussion of holy war in ancient Israel it is necessary to look beyond the narrow borders of the Old Testament and Israel" (ibid p 465). Thus, he concludes: "the war usages and concepts listed by von Rad cannot be interpreted as a specifically ancient Israelite institution" (ibid p 485), but are in fact related to common ancient oriental war praxis and ideology (ibid p 491top). Perhaps Weippert is too extreme in advocating the avoidance of the term "holy war" with reference to the concepts discussed by von Rad (ibid p 490).

Weippert's appeal to the institution of holy war outside Israel also forms the basis of his criticism of Smend's exclusive appellation "Yahweh war" (ibid p 465).

Composition of the army during the Monarchy, with particular reference to the relation between standing army and militia.

For engagements requiring a relatively small force we may cite Saul's expedition to search for David (1 Sam 24.2) and Jonathan's attack on a Philistine outpost (1 Sam 13.2f). By contrast, on various occasions "all Israel" (i.e. the people's militia) is called to arms (note especially : 1 Sam 4.1; 7.5; 28.4b; 2 Sam 10.17a; 11.1; cf 1 Sam 15.4; 17.19,24; 23.8).

The sources inform us that David's initial army was not numerically great and not necessarily well trained or well equipped. The nucleus of his later regular forces may be seen in the men who joined him in Saul's reign. A note in 1 Samuel 22.1f., tells us that those who joined David, apart from his family and clansmen, were the oppressed and malcontents of Saul's kingdom. The number of this original force is given as four hundred. Elsewhere in the Book of Samuel David's personal army is said to consist of six hundred men (1 Sam 23.13; 25.13; 27.1; 30.9).

In his conquest of Jerusalem, the only reference to David's army is the general description "the King and his men" (2 Sam 5.6). This personal standing army is employed again against the Philistines (2 Sam 5.21).

In this connection, it may be noted that the writers of the Books of Samuel employ a general terminology to designate the armies of Saul and David. Numerous references are found to David's "servants" 1 Sam 24.7; 2 Sam 2.15,17,30,31; 11.17; 15.14,18; 16.6; 18.7; 20.6; 21.15; (Saul's "servants": 1 Sam 19.1; 22.7). More generally reference is made simply to David's "men" : 1 Sam 13.3,5,13,24,26; 24.2ff,6; 25.13; 27.3,8; 29.2,11; 30.1,3; 2 Sam 2.3; 5.6; 21.17; (Saul's "men": 1 Sam 23,25,26). Note also the phrase "the people that were with him" : (David) 1 Sam 30.4,9; 2 Sam 6.2; (Saul) 1 Sam 13.15f; 14.17,20.

Elsewhere, more specific mention is made of David's warriors.

They are especially designated גִּבּוֹרִים ("mighty men") and נְעָרִים ("young men"). (For these terms see the end of this Note).

Furthermore, the fully constituted army of David's kingdom is augmented by contingents of Kerethites and Pelethites (possibly a royal bodyguard of Cretan and Philistine mercenaries; cf J.A. Montgomery, ICC Kings, 1951, pp 78f, 85foot-86), and, according to an isolated reference in 2 Samuel 15.18, by six hundred Gittites.

A fundamental distinction between the standing army and the militia may be discounted when we observe how David uses both forces in his wars.

/This

This usage is briefly noted by von Rad, *Der heilige Krieg*, p 35. We may also note von Rad's significant comment that the contrast between the militia and the professional army "is by far an economic one", *ibid* pp 34foot-35; cf R. de Vaux, *op.cit.* p 222.

Details of the army in the Ammonite war are of special interest. The initial encounter involves the standing army, "the whole host of mighty men" (2 Sam 10.7). Of these, Joab leads a detachment of picked men against the Syrians, and assigns the remaining troops to his brother Abishai for the attack on the Ammonites (*ibid* vv 9f). Later, another Syrian force takes the field, and to encounter it David has to muster "all Israel", that is, the people's militia (*ibid* v 17).

In the next fighting season, Joab, "his servants", and "all Israel" are sent out against the Ammonites (2 Sam 11.1). This would seem to indicate a combined force comprising standing army and militia.

Similarly, in 2 Samuel 11.11 we are informed that Israel and Judah (sc. the militia) are "under canvas"*(NEB), and that Joab and the standing army are "encamped in the open" (or, drawn up on the battle-field ?).

*Note Yadin's argument for the translation of *חֹפֶה* as "at Succoth" in 2 Sam 11.11 and 1 K 20.12,16 (for the latter verse, cf LXX 3 K 20.16), *Biblica* 36 1955 pp 341-351; *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands*, 1963 pp 274f, 304ff. This might seem unnecessary as well as improbable insofar as the distinction in the Samuel passage is clearly between the armies living in field-quarters and the comforts of home-life.

Here it is clear that the militia forces are being held in reserve, and when called upon they act with the standing army in an entirely complementary fashion. Certainly, it is not necessary to relegate the militia to a secondary role.

Cf J.H. Hayes, *op.cit.* p 52; von Rad, *Der heilige Krieg*, p 35. R. Smend, *op.cit.* pp 83f., also seems to make an unwarranted distinction in his reference to the Ark being out of place with the standing army (the reference is to 2 Sam 11.11).

A similar situation may be indicated in 2 Samuel 12.26-29. Here Joab makes the initial attack on the Ammonite city of Rabbah, David then "gathers all the people together" for the final assault and capture of the city.

Furthermore, it may be suggested that the real reason for David's census (2 Sam 24) was the need to assess the total military potential of the nation in order to meet the practical requirements of additional forces. Yadin examines the strategy of warfare in the united Kingdom and in the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Especially relevant is his assessment of the method of recruitment for the militia in David's time. Yadin indicates that David re-organises

the ancient tribal levy system into units of reservists ready at any moment and in any number to answer the call to arms.

Yadin, *The Art of Warfare*, pp 278-283.

It is noteworthy that the Chronicler gives authentic details of the composition of the people's militia (see especially 1 Chr 27.1-15), and thus complements the narrative of David's census.

The Chronicler also describes well equipped armies under David (1 Chr 12), Asa (2 Chr 14.8) and Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 17.13b-19). Significantly, however, these passages still indicate recruitment by tribal quota.

1 Chronicles 12 is particularly instructive. It would appear that individual tribes supplied quotas of specialised weapon-units: thus, the Benjaminites provided slingers and archers (v 2), the Gadites were armed with heavy shield and spear (v 8), the tribal units of Judah carried shield and spear (v 24), the contingents of Naphtali bore shield and lance (v 34), and the particular merit of the Zebulun warriors was their proficiency with every kind of weapon (v 33); cf Yadin, *The Art of Warfare*, pp 262f.

G.E. Mendenhall has shown that the census lists of the Book of Numbers (Nu 1; 26) represent an old tradition of tribal quotas committed for war, JBL 77 1958 pp 53-66. In the same connection, the terminology for military enlistment in the Mari texts throws light on Old Testament usage (see E.A. Speiser, BASOR 149, 1958 especially pp 20f, 23f).

Further evidence for the combined use of standing army and militia is found in the narrative of Ahab's campaign against Ben-hadad. Ahab firstly calls up the "young men" of the provincial princes, a relatively small force of two hundred and thirty-two warriors, then follows the conscription of "all the people, all the children of Israel" who number seven thousand (1 K 20.15). In the ensuing battle the "young men" form the spearhead of the attack, disrupting the enemy lines and putting them to flight; the particular task of the militia is to pursue and destroy the enemy (ibid vv 19f).

The few isolated references for the later monarchic period present little evidence of the precise character of warfare. Significantly, however, there is some indication of the manner of recruitment. R. de Vaux notes in this connection that in this period there seems to be no standing army, and therefore in times of national crisis forces are necessarily conscripted from the people.

R. de Vaux, *op.cit.* p 225. The following passages seem to bear this out: 1 K 12.21; 15.27; 2 K 3.6; 2 Chr 25.5f; 26.11ff; 32.6.

Von Rad and de Vaux assume the revival of the people's militia during the reign of Josiah.

/Cf

Cf R. de Vaux, op.cit. p 265; von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, pp 38,75-78; Old Testament Theology, vol 1 p 74.

Although the Biblical accounts give no details of the character of Josiah's army, the case for such a revival is strengthened by the pronounced military theology and the revival of holy war regulations in the Book of Deuteronomy.

Cf von Rad, Old Testament Theology, vol 1 pp 73f; Der heilige Krieg, pp 68f,79; de Vaux, op.cit. pp 264f.

גִּבּוֹרִים

The designation גִּבּוֹר , more fully גִּבּוֹר חַיִּל (cf., less frequently, the closely related חַיִּל אִישׁ and גִּבּוֹר-חַיִּל), merits special mention as a possible link with the ancient war tradition.

In his article on the meaning of the term, J. van der Ploeg states that the primitive גִּבּוֹרִים were the clan or tribal warriors (RB 50-2, 1941-5 p 120). R. de Vaux considers the גִּבּוֹר to have been a champion in single combat (Biblica 40, 1959 pp 498-503).

The term is applied to Joshua's warriors (Josh 1.14; 8.3; 10.7), and to outstanding warriors both in the early period and in the time of the Monarchy (Gideon, Ju 6.12; Jephthah, Ju 11.1; young David, 1 Sam 16.18; Saul and Jonathan, 2 Sam 1.19,21,25,27; Benaiah, 2 Sam 10.7 = 1 Chr 11.22 (גִּבּוֹר-חַיִּל אִישׁ); Jeroboam, 1 K 11.28).

Saul recruits such men (1 Sam 14.52b; note the parallel גִּבּוֹר-חַיִּל : חַיִּל אִישׁ).

David and his men are similarly designated (2 Sam 17.8,10b).

The term is also applied to the regular army under Joab (2 Sam 10.7 = 1 Chr 19.8; cf 2 Sam 11.16 חַיִּל אִישׁ). The men of David's census are designated חַיִּל אִישׁ (2 Sam 24.9).

Certain individual warriors of David's retinue, especially the "Three" and the "Thirty", are similarly described (2 Sam 12.8-39; cf 1 Chr 11.10-47).

The Chronicler applies the term to the men who joined David in the wilderness (1 Chr 12.1,8,21,25,28,30) and to the armies of the later Monarchy (2 Chr 13.3; 14.8; 17.13,14,16,17; 25.6; 26.12); note also the tribal lists in which chiefs and men are designated גִּבּוֹרִים (1 Chr 5.24; 7.2,5,7,9,11,40; 8.40).

To a lesser extent, the terminology can apply to enemy warriors (Josh 6.2; Ju 3.29; 18.2; 20.44,46; 1 Sam 17.51; 2 K 5.1; 2 Chr 32.21).

שׂרָפִים

The exact character and status of the שׂרָפִים are not entirely clear. R. de Vaux considers them to be professional warriors (op. cit. pp 220f; cf Biblica 40 1959 p 503.

The function of the prophet in relation to the king in war.

Firstly, we may note the considerable part played by Samuel in the preparation for and in the initiation of battle. In the portrayal of Samuel the narratives present a remarkable combination of the roles of priest, prophet, and charismatic war-leader. Indeed, in Samuel we see something of the transition from charismatic war-leader to the role of prophet as king-adviser.

Before Saul's ascendancy, Samuel assembles the Israelites at Mizpah to prepare for war (1 Sam 7.5-9). Similarly, the brief introduction to the narrative of the fateful battle of Aphek (1 Sam 4.1) seems to suggest that it is Samuel who musters Israel. Even when Saul attains to military leadership and kingship Samuel's role in war is not diminished. In the context of Saul's call to arms Samuel's name is closely linked with that of Saul ("after Saul and after Samuel", 1 Sam 11.7).

The episode related in 1 Sam 13 throws light on the relationship between Samuel and Saul as King. Clearly, we are to understand that as far as the performance of battle ritual is concerned Samuel takes precedence over the King, and by the same token denounces Saul for disobedience (specifically for presuming to carry out initiatory battle-sacrifice, vv 8-14).

1 Samuel 15 is also instructive. Here Samuel incites Saul to battle against the Amalekites (vv 1-4; cf Deborah's encouragement of Barak, Ju 4.6-9, 14), and after the battle takes the King to task for his failure to carry out complete ritual slaughter (1 Sam 15.8-23, 26ff). Significantly, Samuel himself carries out the ritual slaying of Agag (ibid vv 32f).

The Books of Kings provide further evidence of the prophet-king relationship in war.

To meet the armed might of Ben-hadad, an unnamed prophet encourages Ahab to mobilise the וְהַיְיָ and the people's militia (1 K 20.13ff). By the express command of the prophet, it is Ahab who is to lead the Israelite army (v 14). Holy war motifs are clearly evident in the prophet's address (v 13). In this passage von Rad draws attention to the combination of three originally independent institutions: prophetism, monarchy (professional army), and holy war.

Von Rad, *Der heilige Krieg*, pp 54foot-55; von Rad (ibid) further asserts that the roots of conflict between prophetism and monarchy are already latent in this division of functions.

In the same chapter of Kings (v 22) "the prophet" warns Ahab to prepare for another Syrian attack. Again, (ibid v 28), "a man of

God" encourages Ahab by means of a brief war-speech.

Part of the function of the prophet is to furnish oracular advice. That this function may be carried out by a group of prophets as well as by an individual prophet is evident when Ahab gathers some four hundred prophets (presumably "court prophets"), and then sends for Micaiah ben Imlah (the independent "prophet of Yahweh"), in order to determine whether he and Jehoshaphat should attack Ramoth-gilead (1 K 22.5-28). Predictably the court prophets support Ahab, while Micaiah pronounces against the proposed venture in the name of Yahweh.

When the Kings of Israel, Judah, and Edom unite against Moab they advance by way of the wilderness of Edom, and understandably, after seven days their water supply runs out. Enquiry is made of Yahweh through Elisha, and water (and indeed more than water) is promised (2 K 3.9,11-20).

According to 2 Kings 6.9f., the "man of God" (possibly Elisha, as in the earlier part of the chapter) gives the King specific information about the enemy position. Again, the King of Israel follows the unusual advice of Elisha and offers hospitality to enemy captives (2 K 6.21ff).

During the Syrian campaign against the City of Samaria, and despite the disbelief of a royal adviser, Elisha predicts relief from siege and famine, and his word is amply fulfilled (2 K 7.1f,16-20).

Elisha's sending of one of the ^{וְיָהוּא} ^{וְיָהוּא} to anoint Jehu King may be seen as support for the purge of the house of Ahab (2 K 9.1-10; cf 10.17; note also the prophet Ahijah's support of Jeroboam's rebellion, 1 K 11.26-39).

Elisha's final act is to give battle-encouragement to King Joash by what may in fact be a piece of sympathetic magic (2 K 13.14-19). The act of shooting an arrow and striking the ground with arrows may also be compared with the symbolic use of iron horns by one of Ahab's prophets (1 K 22.11 = 2 Chr 18.10; cf Ezekiel's use of an iron griddle, Ezk 4.3).

Lastly, we may cite the dramatic episode in which King Hezekiah, confronted by the taunting threats of the Assyrian war-lords, sends to Isaiah for Yahweh's word and counsel (2 K 19.2-7,20-34 = Is 37; cf 2 Chr 32.20).

The word of the prophet, it must be noted, is not always in support

(Additional Note C)

of the king, nor is the prophetic message always an oracle of encouragement or deliverance.

In this connection, Samuel's rebukes of Saul have been noted (supra p 71). David is denounced by the prophet Gad because of the military census (2 Sam 24.11-14 = 1 Chr 21). When Rehoboam of Judah assembles a massive army to attack Israel, Shemaiah "the man of God" dissuades him (1 K 12.21-24 = 2 Chr 11.1-4). Jehu ben Hanani denounces Baasha and forecasts the doom of his house (1 K 16.1-4,7; not primarily in the context of war). More specifically, "a man of the sons of the prophets" rebukes Ahab because he allowed Ben-hadad to live when Yahweh had marked him out for ritual slaughter (דָּן) (1 K 20.25-29,42). The lone voice of Micaiah ben Imlah is raised in warning against the proposed attack on Ramoth-gilead (1 K 22.8,17,19-28; cf previous page). Isaiah rebukes Hezekiah for his imprudence in allowing the emissaries of the King of Babylon to see the royal treasury (2 K 20.13f,14-18). When Josiah sends to the prophetess Huldah to enquire of Yahweh the message is an oracle of doom for Judah (2 K 22.13-20).

The Chronicler provides additional instances and details.

Shemaiah the prophet indicates to Rehoboam and the princes of Judah that the Egyptian invasion was brought about because they had forsaken Yahweh (2 Chr 12.5). Hanani the seer rebukes Asa for relying on an alliance with Ben-hadad (2 Chr 16.7-10). Similarly, Eliezer ben Dodavahu denounces Jehoshaphat because of an alliance with Ahaziah, King of Israel (2 Chr 20.37). When Amaziah of Judah hires an army from Israel a "man of God" opposes its use (2 Chr 25.7f).

Terminology of sacral devotion and related tabu-restriction

Two complementary ideas are basic to the concept of cultic devotion: consecration and separation. Both ideas form the essential connotation of the Hebrew roots קדש and שקד .

Such a connotation for קדש may be present already in Gen 49.26b (Dt 33.16b) where Joseph is described as "separated from his brethren" (קדש יוסף), and assumes the role of divine champion.

The use of the verb קדש is noteworthy. Priests must be in a state of "separation" in order to handle the consecrated offerings of the people (Lev 22.2). Similarly, the people must be separated from all impurity to prevent defilement of the tabernacle (Lev 15.31).

Separation for penitential fasting in the fifth and seventh months over a period of years is mentioned in Zech 7.3.

Cultic separation is indicated in the regulations for the Nazirite. Notably there is a stipulation of abstinence from wine, strong drink, and the grape in any form (Nu 6.3-4) until after the period of the vow (v 20); it is significant that for the Rechabite this is extended to life-long abstinence (Jer 35.6,8,14). The wife of Manoah must abstain from wine and anything unclean because the child she is to conceive is to be a nazir from birth (Ju 13.4,7,14). According to Lev 10.9, priests abstain from wine before entering the tabernacle, that is, during their period of service (cf Ezk 44.21).

The cultic separation of the nazir is further seen in the fact that he must never be defiled by contact with a corpse (Nu 6.6,9-12). This means that mourning customs are forbidden even in the case of near relatives (v 7). In the latter connection, some concession is made in the case of the ordinary priest (Lev 21.2-3; Ezk 44.25), but not in the case of the chief priest (Lev 21.11). This illustrates the superior and heightened degree of sacrality of the nazir.

Of further interest is the application of the term קדש to a vine in the fallow seventh and fiftieth years when it must be left untended and its fruit ungathered (Lev 25.5,11). Here the term clearly expresses the idea of tabu, indeed, E. Fehrle considers that the original meaning of קדש corresponds to the Polynesian "tabu" (Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum, 1910, p 44).

A greater number and range of instances are to be found of the use of derivatives of שקד , denoting persons, places and things consecrated to the deity, and therefore ritually separated. Thus, priests (Lev 21.6-8; Ezr 8.28), Levites (2 Chr 35.3), and the nazir (Nu 6.5,8) are "holy to Yahweh". More significant, however, is the requirement that the community itself should be "holy to Yahweh" (Lev 20.26; Nu 15.40).

Note also the phrases: "a holy people ($\psi\dot{\imath}\dot{\rho}\dot{\tau}$ $\underline{D}\underline{y}$) unto Yahweh your God" (Dt 7.6; 14.2,21; 26.19; cf 28.9); "ye shall be holy men ($\psi\dot{\imath}\dot{\rho}\dot{\tau}$ \sim $\psi\dot{\imath}\dot{\rho}\dot{\tau}$) unto me" (Ex 22.30 (EVV 31)). The sacral state of the community is further emphasised in the recurring demand: "holy shall ye be", which is nearly always associated with the divine sanction: "for I am holy" (Lev 11.44f; 19.2; 20.7f,26). The princes who rebel against Moses and Aaron argue that the latter are taking too much upon themselves, "seeing that all the congregation are holy" (Nu 16.3).

In connection with nazirite consecration from birth, it is interesting to compare the use of the term $\psi\dot{\imath}\dot{\rho}\dot{\tau}$ applied to Jeremiah, whom God addresses: "Before thou camest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee and ordained thee a prophet unto the nations" (Jer 1.5).

In general, all firstborn are consecrated to God (Ex 13.1,12,13,15; 22.29b; 34.19f; Dt 15.19). Note also the consecration of property and fields (Lev 27.14,16).

Additional Note E

Cultic chastity in other spheres of Hebrew life

As well as the necessity of sexual abstinence for the active warrior, some evidence indicates a similar restriction for the community gathered for special cultic occasions. In preparation for the theophany at Sinai, Moses has to consecrate the people and to command them to wash their clothes (Ex 19.10-15 (JE)). In verse 15 there is the additional requirement: "...be ready for the third day, do not go near a woman". The description of the scene at the Mount illustrates not only the phenomena of theophany but also the intense danger inherent in "holiness". In this situation even the priests must undergo special consecration (v 22), and since their consecration can hardly be less comprehensive than that of the people, we may assume that the sexual prohibition of verse 15 applies equally to them.

A similar type of situation is indicated in Genesis 35.1-2. Jacob prepares his people for the journey to the holy place at Bethel, the place of a theophany of the tribal god (Gen 28.10-19). Although there is no mention of sexual abstinence, the people have to purify themselves and change their clothes. In addition, as an indication of the acceptance of the god of Bethel, they are to rid themselves of all tokens of idolatry (Gen 35.2).

Further incursion of the sexual into the sphere of the holy (although not bearing directly upon the practice of cultic chastity) is apparent in the permanent exclusion of men with defective genitalia from the qāhāl of Yahweh (Dt 23.2). We may compare the similar primitive sexual tabu in relation to the priesthood (Lev 21.20end).

Three additional references are noteworthy.

According to Isaiah 56.3b-5 a unique honour is promised to eunuchs: in recognition of their faithfulness to the Covenant, and in particular their keeping of the Sabbath, they are to receive from God "something better than sons and daughters....an everlasting name". The reference may hardly be taken to support or encourage the celibate state as such, nevertheless the passage marks an obvious departure from the condemnatory attitude of former legislation (i.e. Dt 23.2; cf Lev 21.20). Considerable time must pass before we meet another such reference in Jewish literature (e.g. Wisd.Sol. 3.14 - c40 A.D.).

The case of Jeremiah is worthy of note. He is consecrated by God before birth (Jer 1.5), and is forbidden to marry on account of the coming disaster (16.2,3-7). J.A. Montgomery notes that here we have "an interesting prototype of Paul" (Ascetic Strains in early Judaism, JBL 51, 1935 p 198 - with reference to 1 Cor 7).

Furthermore, Nu 30.3-16 make provision for the limiting of a woman's

vow, either by her father, if she is unmarried, or by her husband. This may indicate that the period of the vow possibly entailed sexual abstinence, thus affecting a husband's marital rights, or, in the case of an unmarried woman, the father's right to give her in marriage (cf J Pedersen, *op.cit* vol 2 p 328).

With reference to the priesthood, there is no explicit evidence of the limiting of sexual intercourse, and no indication at all of priestly celibacy. For priests, as for all Israelites, marriage and procreation are the accepted norm. From this very fact, however, we may infer that priests even more than ordinary Israelites must be subject to the normal law of ritual purity, which, in the case of sexual defilement, is stated in Lev 15.16ff. Further, with specific reference to priests, Lev 22.4 lists "emission of semen" along with other physical impurities which debar the Aaronite priests from eating their share of the consecrated offerings. A priest thus defiled is "unclean until evening" and must undergo ritual washing before he is permitted to eat (Lev 22 6-7; cf 15.16f ; Dt 23.11f). Again, by inference it seems likely that if such defilement prevented a priest from eating, it would certainly prevent a serving priest from officiating. Some reference to officiating priests may be discerned in Lev 22.2,3. In these verses there is no mention of eating the "holy things". Verse 2 refers to priests "separating themselves from" the holy things; the phrase אֲנִי־נִסְתָּר presumably indicates the cultic handling of the people's offerings. Verse 3 refers more generally to men "approaching" holy things (cf M. Noth, *OT Library Leviticus*, 1965 pp 159-160; note the combination of the qal and high'il of אֲנִי־נִסְתָּר ("approach") in Lev 21.17 to denote priestly function, cf also *ibid* vv 18.21a).

The importance of cultic purity for the serving priest is seen in the need for ritual washing before entering the sanctuary (Ex 30.17-21; 2 Chr 4.6). Ritual ablutions are also necessary at the installation of Aaron and his sons (Ex 29.4; Lev 8.6). Aaron has to wash before putting on the sacred vestments, and again after taking them off (Lev 16.4,24). The higher degree of holiness demanded of the high priest necessitates his remaining within the sacred precincts, thus avoiding all possible contact with uncleanness (Lev 21.12; cf Lev 10.7).

Although in these instances no specific reference is made to sexual defilement, it is reasonable to assume that this would be included along with other categories of cultic uncleanness. In practice, therefore, it would be necessary for priests to practice sexual abstinence in preparation for cultic service.

Again, although there is no indication of priestly celibacy, the priest is subject to definite restrictions in the choice of a wife. The reason for this can only be the consideration of cultic purity. The cultic

status of the priest is clearly stated in the context of marriage restrictions in Lev 21.7f. Accordingly, the Aaronite priest must not marry a zōnā*, a woman who is not a virgin (זִנְיָה), or a divorced woman. The high priest is further restricted in that he may not marry a widow (Lev 21.13f; this might indicate that an ordinary priest could marry a widow). Ezekiel presents a modified situation: the Zadokite priest must not marry a widow (except that of a priest) or a divorced woman (Ezk 44.22).

- * Here זִנְיָה may be interpreted not as a common prostitute (זִנְיָה) but as a cultic one, i.e., equivalent to זִנְיָה ;
cf B.A. Brooks, Fertility Cult Functionaries in the Old Testament, JBL 60, 1941 pp 236f, 237 n37, 238 n9.

Origin of Cultic Chastity

In his study on cultic chastity, E. Fehrle points to two fundamental primitive beliefs: a person must be ritually pure for cultic undertakings, and, sexual intercourse is in itself a source of ritual defilement (*Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum*, 1910 pp 25f, 33f). Hebrew religious belief and practice fully endorse these concepts as basic to Old Testament ideas of ritual holiness. Everything connected with physical and sexual life remains strictly tabu as far as cultic activity or any approach to the holy is concerned. This leads not only to a distinctive ascetic trend in Hebrew religion, but also to the vigorous rejection of the Canaanite Baal cult by devotees of authentic Yahwism. It is therefore a point of some importance that for the Hebrews, the cult itself is completely divorced from sexual motif or practice. Note especially G. von Rad's reference to the "desacralising" of sex in Hebrew religion (OT Theology, vol 1 pp 27f, 146; vol 2 pp 340, 349).

A more primitive aspect of the origin of cultic chastity is noted by W. Brandt, who suggests that formerly, sexual life was the sphere of influence of a deity other than Yahweh (*Die jüdischen Baptismen*, BZAW 18, 1910 p 123). It may be queried whether in fact we should think in terms of a single fertility deity or in terms of a variety of local el-deities or demons. A local fertility deity or demon would seem to feature in the cult legend of Moses and Zipporah (cf supra pp 38 f). M. Weber also points to the sphere of sex as an area of demonic influence and control (op.cit. p 190).

At the same time, it is clear from Old Testament traditions that normal marital relations and human fertility are presented as the sphere of Yahweh's concern and influence. The promised blessing of abundant progeny is an essential part of Yahweh's covenant-relationship with His people, and significantly precedes the promise of a land.

Cf Gen 12.2; 13.16; 15.5; 17.16,19; 28.14; 35.11; in Gen 17.10-14 circumcision is linked with the covenant-promise of progeny; note the particular emphasis in the Blessing of Jacob with reference to Joseph (Gen 49.22,25), and the general series of blessings on rural and urban life (Dt 28.3-6,8,11f); cf also the portrayal of the creator-god (Gen 1.20-5,27-8).

In a number of instances, Yahweh appears as the one who bestows the blessing of conception and childbirth (Gen 18.10,14; 21.1-2; 29.31-35; 30.22f; Ju 13.3; 1 Sam 1.19). This image of Yahweh no doubt contributes to the positive attitude to marriage and procreation which is to be found throughout the Old Testament and later orthodox Judaism, and which regards childlessness as a shameful thing and deprecates celibacy.

PART TWO

THE REVIVAL OF HOLY WAR IN THE MACCABAEAN PERIOD

Preliminary considerations

The purpose of this chapter is to relate the war practices, concepts, and motifs evident in First and Second Maccabees to the Old Testament tradition-history of holy war.

It will be suggested that the practice and theory of holy war are not only revived in the Maccabaeen period, but that the accounts present significant development or extension of the ancient tradition. If this line of argument is accepted, it means that the writers of First and Second Maccabees are not presenting a mere literary borrowing from the Old Testament; their accounts of the Maccabaeen wars therefore are not simply a literary revival of the ancient tradition — for example, for the purpose of a purely historiographical portrayal of the Maccabaeen conflict. It is important to see that they are presenting (and adapting) aspects of the ancient tradition in the historical circumstances and in the politico-religious contingencies of their time.

A further investigation (PART FOUR) will show that the Maccabaeen narratives are important also as forming a definite link between the holy war tradition and the Qumran War Scroll, itself the climax and most explicit formulation of holy war ideology.

Examination of the views of G. von Rad and R. de Vaux

In their references to the Maccabaeen Revolt, G. von Rad and R. de Vaux are reluctant to assess the wars of the Maccabaeen period in terms of a genuine revival of the holy war tradition of ancient Israel (334).

Both writers, it must be emphasised, make only brief references to the Maccabaeen wars, and neither presents a detailed study of the Books of Maccabees. A close examination of the narratives of First and Second Maccabees goes far to disprove the generalised statements of von Rad and de Vaux.

R. de Vaux does acknowledge "the revival of some characteristics of holy war" in a few passages in First and Second Maccabees, but in his summary statement concludes that the Maccabaeen wars were

not holy war :

"Despite these resemblances the spirit is no longer that of holy war. The Maccabees and their men are not inspired by God; God did not order the war and does not intervene directly in it. Significant allusions to the help God gave in ancient times refer to the crossing of the Red Sea (1 M 4.9) and the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib (1 M 4.9; 2 M 8.19; 15.22) but never to the holy wars of the Conquest and the period of the Judges. All this prevents us from taking Maccabaeen war as a holy war. It is a war of religion."

Several points require comment.

Firstly, with regard to the spirit of the wars and the inspiration of the men, it would seem that the portrayal of Mattathias and Judas, as well as the whole tenor of the initial revolt and the subsequent battles leading up to the rededication of the Temple, recapture a great deal of the ethos of ancient holy wars. In a situation of national crisis, the Maccabees, heavily outnumbered and faced with superior forces and weapons, are completely dependent upon God. They are truly inspired by faith and zeal, strengthened and encouraged by the presence and help of God. They are dedicated warriors in the ancient style. Significantly, the greater part of the narrative is concerned more with pre-battle penitential and ritual preparation than with the description of the battle-action. Furthermore, the initial statement of R. de Vaux does not take account of the characterisation and composition of the Maccabaeen army, or of the militant Hasidaeans and their central role in the early Maccabaeen battles.

Secondly, the statement that God did not order the war and does not intervene directly in it, raises the question of the relation between divine intervention and human warrior activity in holy war. In the Old Testament presentation of holy war, as we have seen (supra pp 60f), the two aspects are not necessarily mutually exclusive. In the presentation of the Maccabaeen Revolt, while the writer of First Maccabees in the main emphasises human initiative and activity, significant evidence of divine help and miraculous intervention is apparent in Second Maccabees.

The third point raised by de Vaux is based on the questionable assumption that the practice of holy war is limited to the Conquest and the wars of the Judges (cf supra p 4). It is highly significant that the writers of First and Second Maccabees take up into the context of battle-speeches and prayers not only the ancient crossing of the Sea, which is the fundamental statement of Yahweh's deliverance

and the basis of Heilsgeschichte, but also the episode of Sennacherib, which they clearly regarded as an extension of the Heilsgeschichte tradition and as an example especially relevant for the Maccabaeen situation (vide infra, pp 88,91f,116,120).

The last statement of de Vaux, that Maccabaeen war is a war of religion, is irrelevant to the concept of holy war as a sacral activity or sacral institution (cf supra pp 1-3). The fact that the Maccabees fought for their religion in no way precludes the possibility that they revived the practice and theory of ancient holy war.

G. von Rad, whose comments relate solely to First Maccabees, considers that the external circumstances of the Maccabaeen Revolt show remarkable harmony with the oldest form of holy war, and notes especially the character of the non-professional people's militia. Von Rad does have reservations however — for instance, in regard to the charismatic leadership of Judas (vide infra, p100). Further, although noting the role of war speeches, von Rad contrasts the secular conception of the subsequent military action and quotes E. Schürer :

"It is noteworthy that the successes of the Maccabaeen efforts are almost nowhere traced back to a direct miraculous intervention of God, but generally appear as the result of the warrior efficiency and political shrewdness of the Maccabaeen princes."

The statement reflects an inadequate assessment of the circumstances of the initial revolt, and of the character of the earliest Maccabaeen forces (vide infra, pp 94-101).

Concluding his brief treatment of the Maccabaeen wars, von Rad notes, rightly, that the author of First Maccabees "is much more concerned with the glorification of the Jews than with the presentation of the historical miraculous acts of God", but suggests that "the question still remains open as to whether the spirit of this historical writing coincides with the spirit in which those wars were really waged". At this point one might have expected von Rad to have given some consideration to Second Maccabees.

I Pre-battle rites and practices.

Of cardinal importance for the practice of holy war are the means by which the Hebrews appealed to Yahweh for help and sought His guidance for battle. Several features relating to the appeal to Yahweh present themselves in First and Second Maccabees. Some of the features have parallels in the ancient war tradition, while others, significantly, may be seen as extensions of that tradition, and therefore as further stages of the tradition-history of holy war.

In the account of the assembly at Mizpah (1 M 3.46-56) we have some evidence of the revival and development of the institution of holy war in the unique historical situation of the Maccabaeen Revolt. P.R. Davies notes the importance of Mizpah as a former Yahweh-sanctuary where preparatory rites for war could be carried out (335). Old Testament precedents for the assembly of the war levy at Mizpah are recorded in Judges 20 and 21, and in 1 Samuel 7.5-6. A general assembly also meets at Mizpah for Yahweh's appointment of Saul as king (1 Sam 10.17-24).

That the holy place of Mizpah is deliberately chosen by the Maccabees because of its former associations is implied in 1 Maccabees 3.46. At the same time, we cannot overlook the strategic military position of Mizpah — its proximity to Jerusalem, and its commanding view of the City — which considerations must have had some influence on the Maccabaeen leaders.

Comparison of the cultic procedures reported in the Old Testament episodes with those narrated in First and Second Maccabees shows considerable agreement as well as some notable variations.

The passage in 1 Maccabees 3 depicts the appeal to God

- a) in terms of penitential rites: fasting, sackcloth and ashes, the tearing of garments (v 47);
- b) by means of prayer (vv 44,50-52);
- c) in the presentation of consecrated objects: the scroll of the Law (v 48), priestly vestments, firstfruits and tithes; and similarly, in the presentation of consecrated persons: Nazirites (v 49);
- d) by means of enquiry of God — here through consultation of Torah (v 48).

Several conclusions emerge from consideration of these features.

In general, it is noteworthy that so many features of a cultic nature are combined in one passage. This points immediately to a situation of extreme crisis — a situation in which the faithful suppliants are seen to be entirely dependent on God's help (cf v 52). Such a situation of crisis might well bring about the revival of the ethos and ideology of holy war.

Lists of penitential rites, remarkably comparable but not always so comprehensive, present themselves in the Old Testament Mizpah passages. Judges 20 contains the most comprehensive list, which includes : fasting (v 26), sacrifice and offerings (v 26), weeping (vv 23,26), and enquiry of Yahweh (vv 18,23,28). Judges 21 indicates weeping (v 2), sacrifice and offerings (v 4). 1 Samuel 7 includes fasting and confession of sin (v 6), sacrifice (vv 9-10), prayer (vv 5,8,9), and a unique oblation of water (v 6). The passage 1 Samuel 10.17-25 contains no evidence of ritual practice.

Comparison of the cultic and penitential practices recorded in the Old Testament Mizpah passages with those in 1 Maccabees 3 reveals significant variations.

In contrast to the Old Testament narratives, sacrifice is no longer practised at Mizpah in the Maccabaeen period. For the Maccabees, Mizpah is essentially a place of supplication (τόπος προσευχῆς 1 M 3.46) (336). Sacrifice may be offered only in the Temple (337). Consequently, the desecration of the Temple (338) and its exclusion as a cultic centre for the Maccabees at this crucial time serve to intensify the penitential aspect of the situation at Mizpah and warrant the inclusion of "sackcloth and ashes" and "tearing of garments" as part of the penitential appeal to God. Although these practices are not mentioned specifically in the Old Testament Mizpah passages already cited (339), they are found elsewhere in the Old Testament as acts of penitence in times of national alarm or calamity (340). They are also found elsewhere in the Books of Maccabees in the context of battle (e.g. 1 M 11.71f; 2 M 10.25; 13.12; 14.15). Furthermore, it is essential to see the Maccabaeen pre-battle acts of penitence in the light of the theological concept that calamity is the direct result of sin (341).

Although weeping is not mentioned at the Mizpah assembly, wailing and weeping are included in the brief descriptions of pre-battle penitence in 2 Maccabees 11.6 and 13.12. More important are the specific examples of "lament", in style and content typical of the ancient elegiac *ᾠδή* (1 M 1.25-28 cf vv 37-40; 2.7-11; 3.45; 7.17; 9.21).

Prayer, as a more positive form of invoking divine aid, is frequently reported as part of the preparation for battle (1 M 4.30; 7.40ff; 2 M 8.2ff, 14; 10.16, 25f; 11.6; 12.6, 15, 28, 36; 13.10, 12; 14.15; 15.21-24, 26f; note especially the "cry to heaven": 1 M 3.50a; 4.10, 40; 5.31; 9.46).

A unique feature of the Maccabaeen Mizpah assembly is the appeal to the deity in the presentation of consecrated objects (342) and consecrated men (1 M 3.49). F.-M. Abel rightly comments that the purpose of this appeal is to set into relief the loyalty of the suppliants towards the Law, and at the same time to "constrain the deity to manifest His compassion" (343). The initiative, therefore, in this essentially cultic crisis must come from God.

The presentation of the Torah scroll (1 M 3.48) may be viewed as part of the same appeal especially when we consider the measures instituted by Antiochus Epiphanes against the Torah itself (344). P. von der Osten-Sacken (following M. Noth) concludes that with the presentation of priestly vestments, offerings of firstfruits and tithes, Mizpah becomes an "Ersatztempel" (345).

In this connection, it may be assumed that these unique acts at Mizpah were carried out not only in order to ensure victory in the imminent battle of Emmaus, but also in the hope of the restoration of the Temple and its worship — and this was in fact the first concern of the Maccabees after their initial military successes (1 M 4.36-59; 2 M 10.1-8).

The dilemma of the Nazirites, who have presumably completed the period of their consecration, lends further support to the appeal of the faithful. The presentation of Nazirites is notable evidence of the practice of the (temporary) Nazirate in Maccabaeen times. Although these Nazirites are not necessarily consecrated to war in the first instance, (the text affords no indication of the content or purpose of their vows), it is significant that they are associated here with the militant loyalists in the preparation for battle, and if they cannot be released from their vows until the restoration of the Temple, it is logical to suppose that they would have to remain Nazirites for the duration of the campaign. This practical problem may well indicate the kind of situation in which the temporary nazirite vow might be extended. This may have some bearing on the condition and character of the hasidic warriors who joined the Maccabees at the time of the emergency (vide infra p105), and may point ultimately to the situation of intensified consecration which we find later among the warrior saints of Qumran.

The most significant cultic act in the war contingency at Mizpah is undoubtedly the unrolling of the Torah scroll (1 M 3.48). . Reference has already been made to the presentation of the scroll along with other sacred objects. More important, however, are the implications of the use of the scroll in connection with the battle preliminaries.

Verse 48 reads:

καὶ ἐξεπέτασαν τὸ βιβλίον τοῦ νόμου περὶ ὧν ἐξερέυνων
τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὁμοιώματα τῶν εἰδώλων αὐτῶν

(omitting the phrase found in some versions (after τὰ ἔθνη):
τοῦ ἐπιγράψαι ἐπ' αὐτῶν , which Abel considers to be
"purely a Greek gloss" (346)).

Examination of the Greek terms reveals an equivalent Hebrew terminology indicative of the ancient practice of oracular enquiry (347). Abel understands the verse as follows:

"Ils ouvrirent le livre de la loi au sujet des choses pour
lesquelles les nations consultaient les statues de leurs
dieux" (348).

With this we may compare the NEB interpretation:

"They unrolled the scroll of the law, seeking the guidance
which gentiles seek from the images of their gods".

The important factor is that the images used by pagans (349), and, by inference, the cultic objects used in Old Testament times for the same purpose, are superseded by the written word of God.

It is not clear whether the appropriate word was to be discovered by deliberate searching of the Scriptures or by random selection, that is, selection by some mechanical method akin to the ancient manipulation of the sacred lot (350). What is clear, however, is that consulting Scripture has replaced former methods of oracular enquiry.

The deliberate use of the scroll for oracular guidance is certainly an innovation in the Maccabaeian period, and a unique development in the history of the holy war tradition. Here, for the first time, divine guidance for battle is sought in the written Law and not, as in former times, from oracle or living prophet (351).

This course of action is again dictated by the circumstances of the Maccabaeian era. There are no prophets — the absence of prophetic advice and direction is noted in 1 M 4.46; 14.41; cf 9.37 — and former methods of obtaining oracular guidance (i.e. by means of ephod, urim and thummim, and Ark) are no longer possible. The

procedure, moreover, must also be seen in relation to the centrality of the Law in post-exilic Judaism -- and in the Maccabean period, over against the determined attempt by Antiochus completely to suppress the Jewish faith.

The consulting of the scroll furthermore recalls those critical situations in Israelite history when the Law was read to the general assembly of the people, and especially with a view to the renewal of covenant and the initiation of religious reform.

Thus, in the time of Josiah the discovery and reading of the "Book of the Covenant" heralded a return to covenant loyalty (352), and gave new impetus to Josiah's religious reform (2 K 23.2). Similarly, in the immediate post-exilic period the reading of the Law (cf Neh 8.1-9,18; 13.1) involved the re-establishing of the Covenant, and again, specific religious reforms followed. According to the Deuteronomic tradition, Moses commanded the reading of the Law every seventh year at the Festival of Booths (Dt 31.11). In the same way, at the Shechem general assembly, Joshua wrote the terms of the Covenant "in the Book of the Law of Yahweh" (Josh 24.25f; cf 8.32), and, in the duplicate version of the event (Josh 8.34f), read out "the blessing and the cursing word by word...."

There can be little doubt that whatever passage of Scripture was selected by the Maccabees at Mizpah, it would certainly have been read out to the assembled people. We may compare 2 Maccabees 8.23, which informs us that Eleazar (353) is ordered to read the holy scroll aloud immediately prior to battle. Similarly, Judas is said to encourage his men "from the Law and the Prophets" (2 M 15.9). The context of this statement is particularly illuminating, embodying as it does a significant literary presentation of the ethos and motifs of the ancient holy war tradition:

".... he (Judas) had not the least doubt that he would obtain help from the Lord. He urged his men not to be afraid of the gentile attack, but to bear in mind the aid they had received from heaven in the past and so look to the Almighty for the victory which he would send this time also. He drew encouragement for them from the law and the prophets and, by reminding them of the struggles they had already come through, filled them with a fresh enthusiasm. When he had roused their courage, he gave them their orders, reminding them at the same time of the Gentiles' broken faith and perjury. He armed each one of them, not so much with the security of shield and spear, as with the encouragement that brave words bring; and he also told them of a trustworthy dream he had had, a sort of waking vision, which put them all in good heart."

(vv 7-11 NEB).

We may also note the emphasis and implication of the high priest's

claim that "our support is the holy scrolls in our possession" (1 M 12.9).

That the Maccabees derive encouragement for battle from the Biblical word is indicated in an explicit statement in 2 Maccabees 10.26. In the face of the enormous army of Timotheus, the Maccabees, after prayer and penitential acts, appeal to God

"to be an enemy to their enemies, and an adversary to their adversaries, as the Law states";

the reference is clearly to Exodus 23.22b.

The foregoing instances indicate that the consulting of the Torah scroll at Mizpah was by no means an isolated incident in the war practice of the Maccabees.

Content of the scroll

In itself, 1 Maccabees 3.48 gives no indication of the precise content of the scroll, or of possible passages of Scripture consulted at Mizpah. Since, however, in the ancient wars encouragement and guidance for battle came in the first instance from Yahweh, it is reasonable to suppose that some specific word of God would have been selected by the Maccabees and interpreted and applied in the context of the conflict with Antiochus. Accordingly, we may make a tentative suggestion as to the general content of the Scripture which encouraged and inspired the Maccabees at Mizpah.

The initial concern of the Mizpah assembly is not the formal organisation of warriors on the basis of a well defined war code. In contrast to Deuteronomy and the Qumran war code the Books of Maccabees do not contain a war manual as such. At Mizpah the primary emphasis is on supplication and entreaty to obtain divine guidance and the assurance of divine aid. Is it possible that in the unique cultic situation at Mizpah passages relating to Heilsgeschichte and covenant renewal were consulted? It was from the tradition of Yahweh's saving acts that Israel drew strength and encouragement in past crises, and it was by that same tradition that Israel was recalled to covenant loyalty (354).

Elements of Heilsgeschichte are evident in the Maccabaeen war speeches prayers (vide infra pp 91f, 116, 120). Apart from the reference to the crossing of the Sea (1 M 4.9), the Maccabaeen tradition in effect extends the Heilsgeschichte to include references to the Battle of Jericho (2 M 12.15), David's defeat of Goliath, the attack on a Philistine outpost by Jonathan and his armour-bearer (1 M 4.30), and the miraculous extermination of the forces of Sennacherib (1 M 7.41; 2 M 8.19; 15.22).

The concept of covenant-loyalty, from the divine side as well as from the human, is especially important for the basis of the Maccabaeian appeal to God. Thus, according to 1 Maccabees 4.10, Judas encouraged his men to pray that God would remember the covenant made with their forefathers, and 2 Maccabees 8.15 notes that the Jews prayed for divine help, not on their own merits but on the ground of the covenants which God had made with their ancestors (355). Further, Mattathias pledges himself and his sons to maintain the covenant of their ancestors (1 M 2.20), calls those who are faithful to the covenant to follow him (v 27), and, in his last words, exhorts his sons to give their lives for the covenant (v 50). In the same passage (vv 51-61), heroic figures of Israel's past, from Abraham to Daniel, are recalled and held up as examples of faithfulness. This, along with the references already mentioned, indicates an extensive use of scriptural texts.

First Maccabees

G. von Rad acknowledges that religious war speeches play a large role in First Maccabees, but notes in contrast the "secular" presentation of the war events themselves (356). Von Rad's opinion on the latter point is based on the reference of E. Schürer to the lack of divine intervention in the Maccabaeen wars. The question of the relation between divine intervention and human participation in First and Second Maccabees will be taken up later (*infra* VI).

The "secular" tone evident throughout First Maccabees and readily apparent in the war speeches themselves (examples are listed for convenience in note (357)) may be understood as part of the author's emphasis on human activity in the Maccabaeen wars, and more especially as part of his deliberate portrayal of the heroic character of the Maccabaeen leaders. F.-M. Abel describes the author as a "convinced partisan, devoted to the Hasmonaeans", and indicates at the same time that he is thoroughly *au fait* with affairs of state, military movements, and court intrigues (358). A number of diplomatic documents (359) incorporated in his text is further evidence of this.

In his discussion of the historical value of First Maccabees, Abel (following C.C. Torrey) considers the author to be a contemporary of the events which he reports (360). The speeches, therefore, far from being in any way incongruous within the battle narratives, may be regarded as presenting a vivid and realistic insight into the ethos and thought-background of the Maccabaeen wars.

Furthermore, it is especially significant that essential aspects of the speeches in First Maccabees show considerable rapport with the ancient holy war tradition. In this regard the following points are pertinent.

- a) The spokesman (361) is invariably the war leader — not an official priest or professional officer.
- b) The context of the speeches shows them closely related to actual battle situations. The author, therefore, sees them as essential to the battle preliminaries.
- c) The purpose of the speeches is to encourage the warriors' faith and to incite them to fight.

/d)

d) As far as content is concerned, over against the "secular" tone of some of the speeches we are bound to take into consideration the religious motivation of two speeches : 1 M 3.18-22 and 4.8-11. Each of these contains three "constants" of the ancient war tradition : the injunction "fear not" (1 M 3.22; 4.8; vide supra note (99)), the concept that numbers are irrelevant to the issue of battle (1 M 3.18f; 4.8; vide supra note (108)), and the assurance that God will destroy the enemy (1 M 3.22; 4.10; vide supra note (103)). In addition, the second speech contains a reference to the deliverance of Israel at the Sea (1 M 4.9), and concludes with a statement which points to the raison d'être of divine deliverance: "... then all the nations will know that there is one who saves and liberates Israel" (1 M 4.11) (362).

The content of Judas' prayer (1 M 4.30-33) may be noted here. Reference is made to God breaking the attack of the giant by the hand of David, and delivering the Philistines into the hands of Jonathan and his armour-bearer. Judas also appeals to God to strike the enemy with panic (363).

Second Maccabees

War speeches and references to war speeches in Second Maccabees provide remarkable corroboration of the evidence of First Maccabees, recalling ancient war tradition motifs and, in a few significant instances, demonstrating a similar "secular" tone and a certain emphasis on human activity in battle.

Encouragement for battle according to the ancient pattern is attested in two passages : 2 M 8.16-20 and 15.8-16.

2 M 8.16 indicates that Judas appealed to his men not to flee in panic before the enemy and not to fear the great host. In the same passage, in direct speech, we read (v 18):

"They rely on their weapons and their audacity, but we rely on God Almighty who is able to overthrow with a nod our present assailants and if need be the whole world".

The contrast between weapons and the power of Yahweh is another notable feature in the Old Testament war tradition (vide supra note (109)).

The passage goes on to indicate that Judas recalled incidents of God's help in the past: specifically, the slaughter of Sennacherib's host (v 19), and, nearer their own time, a Jewish victory against a

numerically superior army of Galatians in Babylonia (v 20) (364).

In 2 M 15.8 the writer reports that Judas urged his men not to be afraid but to remember the help they had received from Heaven in the past and to look for (365) victory from the Almighty (cf the battle-cry "Victory of God", 2 M 13.15). Judas further encourages his forces "from the Law and the Prophets" (v 9). Significantly, this verbal encouragement is contrasted with the power of shield and spear (v 11).

In both passages we find something of the "secular" tone evident in the speeches of First Maccabees.

Judas urges his men to "fight nobly" (2 M 8.17). His words "made them ready to die for their laws and for their country" (v 21). According to 2 M 15.17 the Jews determined "to take the offensive manfully and fight hand to hand with all their strength until the issue was decided".

The same tone is apparent in brief references to speeches elsewhere. Thus, Judas calls on the Jews "to share his danger and come to the help of their brethren" (2 M 11.7; cf 13.12b), and charges his men "to fight bravely to the death for the law, for the Temple and for Jerusalem, for their country and their way of life" (13.14). As suggested in the case of First Maccabees, such statements do not seem out of place in the writer's presentation of the Maccabaeon epic.

It is important to observe that the war speeches in Second as in First Maccabees are directly related to battle situations, unlike the addresses which the Deuteronomist puts into the mouth of Moses (cf supra, p 19 & note (97)).

Moreover, in contrast specifically with the formal regulations of Deuteronomy 20.2,5 (according to which the priest and officers are the spokesmen), it is the Maccabaeon war-leader who regulates and exhorts the army before battle. Whether or not the speeches can be considered ritualistic in form, they are certainly presented as essential preliminaries of battle, and in some instances, as we have seen, contain definite elements of the holy war tradition. Since, moreover, acts of a cultic and ritualistic nature are in fact evident as an integral part of Maccabaeon preparation for battle (cf supra pp 83-85), perhaps we should also regard the war speeches as belonging to the same cultic emphasis.

Two practical features of Maccabaeon warfare which show a positive link with the ideology of the Deuteronomic war address may be

mentioned briefly.

The Deuteronomist insists ideally on the principle of herem and on the destruction of pagan shrines and cult objects (366).

There is some evidence to show that the Maccabees carried out herem on certain occasions, and that they were concerned to destroy the altars and idols of the pagan cult (vide infra p 106).

III

Character and composition of the Maccabaeen army

Several practical features of the Maccabaeen army deserve mention as possible links with the ancient holy war tradition.

G. von Rad rightly comments:

"The army is neither commanded by a king nor organised by state officialdom; not professionals (Söldner) but the mass of the Jewish country population fought for their faith and the cultus of the God of their fathers" (367).

In general, it may be observed that the Maccabaeen forces may not have been so well organised as the narratives seem to indicate. Despite exaggerated reports of the size of the armies in conflict (foreign as well as Jewish), there are indications that the Maccabaeen forces were numerically relatively small (cf 1 M 3.16f; contrast *ibid* v 13), and not always fully armed (cf 1 M 4.6; 3.12) (368).

At the beginning of the Revolt the activities of Mattathias and his sons (in the main against renegade Jews) took the form of sporadic guerilla raids rather than full-scale warfare (1 M 2.44, 45-47). (369). We should not, however, underestimate the importance of the details of the Maccabaeen army reported in 1 Maccabees 2.42-43 (*vide infra* pp 102-105).

In subsequent encounters with undoubtedly superior Seleucid forces, the Jews relied on tactics, choice of terrain, and surprise attack more often than on pitched battle (370).

The lack of detail in the narrative of 1 Maccabees 3.2, 10f, 13-24 presumably means that the author considers these two encounters to be preliminary skirmishes with foreign armies.

A more informative passage, as we have already seen (*supra* pp 83-89) deals with the Mizpah assembly. As far as the character of the Maccabaeen forces is concerned, the evidence of 1 M 3.44, 55f., indicates that the army was formed on the lines of the ancient cultic levy.

P.R. Davies rightly notes the significance of the term *συνάγωγη* (3.44), here probably equivalent to the Hebrew *הקדש*, the cultic assembly of "all Israel" (371).

The use of the term *λαός* in the phrase *ἡγούμενοι τοῦ λαοῦ* (3.55), with reference to the army commanders, recalls the similar use of the Hebrew *לַיָּהוָה* as a designation of the people's militia in the holy war tradition (cf supra p 60 & note (322)).

Another linguistic link with the ancient war tradition may be discerned in 1 M 3.13. Here the force mustered by Judas is described as *ἐκτορευομένοι εἰς πόλεμον*, "fit for military service". F.-M. Abel notes that this is a technical expression equivalent to the Hebrew *אֲנִי־לַחֲמָה* in Numbers 31.36 (372). We may compare the frequent occurrence of the similar phrase *אֲנִי־לַחֲמָה* in the census lists of the Book of Numbers (Nu 1.1-46 passim; 26.2; the phrase appears again in 1 Chr 12.33,36).

Units

A significant innovation in the organisation of the Maccabaeen army is the appointment of commanders over units of thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens (1 M 3.55).

In the military sphere these four numerical grades are not previously found together. Commanders of thousands and of hundreds are mentioned (e.g. Nu 31.48; 2 Sam 18.1; 1 Chr 26.26; 2 Chr 25.5). References to commanders of fifties are also found (e.g. 2 K 1.9-14; Is 3.3).

On the other hand, the Maccabaeen arrangement corresponds exactly to the system for the ideal judicial administration of Israel referred to in Exodus 18.21,25 and Deuteronomy 1.15. This four-fold division, as M. Noth points out (373), does not derive from judicial ideas but from the organisation of the military levy.

F.-M. Abel (374) notes that the Ptolemaic infantry, after the pattern of Macedonian military organisation, had this same numerical grouping.

In view, however, of the existence of this division of command already in the Old Testament, it is not necessary to assume that the Maccabees based their military organisation entirely on a foreign model (375). If in fact their model was the organisation of the ancient cultic levy, then we have an outstanding example of the revival and re-introduction of a very ancient practice.

Furthermore, since the four categories are specified together, we may also see in the Maccabaeen military arrangement a considerable development of the military organisation mentioned in some of the Old Testament war narratives (i.e. the two-fold division of thousands and hundreds, and the single division of fifties).

Support for this suggestion is provided by the identical system evident in the Qumran war code (vide infra p 128).

Trumpets

The use of trumpets in the Maccabean campaigns provides another positive link with the ancient institution of holy war.

Although not numerous, the instances in First Maccabees illustrate the main aspects of the role of trumpets in war.

In the sequence of events at Mizpah, the sounding of the trumpets (1 M 3.54) immediately after the penitential acts and supplication for divine help and before the organisation of the militia into units and the appointment of commanders is particularly instructive. Here seems a clear example of von Rad's contention that the trumpet was the signal for summoning the battle levy (376). This usage is amply borne out by the Old Testament evidence (cf supra p 26).

One of the uses of the ceremonial trumpets described in Numbers 10 is to muster the general assembly of Israel (vv 3,7) and to summon the tribal chiefs (v 4). It is significant that in the same passage (v 10) these trumpets are to be used on cultic occasions, especially accompanying sacrifices and peace-offerings. In this connection, and also in the press of battle (v 9), the precise meaning of the trumpet-call is indicated. It is to "serve as a reminder on your behalf before Yahweh your God, and you will be delivered from your enemies". In the crisis-situation at Mizpah, with its penitential ritual and its substitute cultic demonstration, we have an outstanding example of the use of trumpets enjoined in Numbers 10.1-10. At Mizpah the association of the trumpets with other objects of cultic significance (1 M 3.49; cf Nu 31.6) argues against the contention of M. Weippert that the use of the trumpet in connection with military call-up must not be explained cultically (377).

Another important example of the use of trumpets in a cultic context, but without a direct connection with battle, is found in 1 M 4.40. At the sight of the defiled and ruined Temple Judas and his brothers tear their clothes, wail loudly, put dust on their heads, prostrate themselves, and sound the trumpets. (Apart from the cultic connection there is also an indication here of the summoning of troops, since in the following verse Judas details a force to engage the Citadel garrison while the Temple is being purified).

Significant here is the designation of the trumpets. They are

σάλπιγγες τῶν σημασιῶν, which phrase is used by the Septuagint to render the Hebrew הַמְּצִלִּים הַמְּצִלִּים. F.-M. Abel

compares Numbers 31.6 (378) (cf also 2 Chr 13.12).

In Maccabees, as in the Septuagint, the Greek *σαλπιγξ* does not distinguish between the ancient ram's horn (*רָפִיעַ*) of the old holy wars and the priestly *הַרְפָּצִי*, but the phrase used in 1 M 4.40 (and found again in 1 M 7.45) may indicate that the Maccabees used the ceremonial trumpets in their battles. In this connection, Abel notes the description by Josephus of the instrument "which the Hebrews call 'asosra'" (379). Furthermore, there is some evidence in the Old Testament to indicate that the ceremonial

הַרְפָּצִי may have been intended to replace the ancient *רָפִיעַ* (cf supra note (126)).

A definite reference to the Maccabaeen use of trumpets in battle is found in the episode related in 1 M 7.45. Nicanor's forces being in full retreat, the Jews sound the trumpets in the enemy's rear. This serves as a signal not only for the pursuit by the main Jewish force, but, even more importantly, as the call to arms for men in neighbouring villages so that they can assemble at strategic points and cut off the enemy's retreat (380).

Elsewhere in First Maccabees trumpets are used to signal the joining of battle (4.13f; 5.31,33 (381); 9.12; 16.8).

Battle-cry

In First Maccabees the trumpet-call is frequently associated with the battle-cry or "shout" (382). This association itself has precedents in the Old Testament. There are, moreover, Old Testament indications that the trumpet-call was the signal for the battle-shout (cf supra pp 27f). This would also seem to be the implication of some of the Maccabaeen instances where the connection between trumpet-call and battle-shout is definite and deliberate (1 M 3.54; 4.40; 5.31,33) (383).

Apart from general references to a "loud shout" (1 M 3.54; 5.31b) — specifically called *κραυγή τῶν πολέμου*, according to a reading of 1 M 5.31a (384) — a significant innovation presents itself in 1 M 5.33 where the "shout" takes the form of prayer. This may be compared with the report by the writer of Second Maccabees to the effect that Judas and his men went into battle singing hymns (2 M 12.37). Here we may see a positive link with the Chronicler's presentation of the holy war tradition. According to 2 Chr 20.21-22a (cf ibid v 19), cultic singers are specially appointed to precede

Jehoshaphat's army "shouting praise to God" (cf supra pp 28f).

(For two formal battle-cries, 2 M 8.23; 13.15, vide infra p121).

Warrior disqualification

In the narrative of the Mizpah assembly there is some evidence to indicate the revival of warrior disqualification in line with the holy war tradition.

In terms of the Deuteronomic war code (Dt 20.5-8), men who were building houses, the newly betrothed, and those who were planting vineyards, were dismissed from the battle levy (1 M 3.56).

The dismissal of those who were afraid is also included (cf Dt 20.8; Ju 7.3) (385). It is readily apparent, however, that these regulations are presented in an exceedingly summarised and non-legalistic form, and without the rationalising explanations appended by the Deuteronomist (386).

It is important to note, however, that the author is not concerned with a formal war code but with the presentation of an historical event, and with the practical application of war regulations in a given situation. It is significant, therefore, that the writer of First Maccabees does in fact include some reference to Deuteronomic war code regulations in his portrayal of the Mizpah assembly. More so since, on the one hand, the Old Testament prototypes of the Mizpah assembly (Ju 20; 21; 1 Sam 7.5-11) make no reference to warrior disqualification as part of the battle preliminaries, and, on the other hand, the categories of disqualification (in particular, house-building and vineyard-planting) seem somewhat irrelevant, indeed incongruous, in the historical situation of the Maccabean Revolt. Accordingly, it may be suggested that the author's purpose in including such regulations is a deliberate desire to reflect the sacral character of the Mizpah preparations and specifically to indicate the revival by Judas Maccabaeus of the ancient holy war tradition.

In addition, the writer of First Maccabees clearly understands Judas to have acted "according to the Law" in this regard (1 M 3.56b: *κατὰ τὸν νόμον*). If, as seems most probable, by "the Law" is meant solely and exclusively the law of Deuteronomy, and in particular those items relating to the Deuteronomic war code, there remains the question not only of the departure (in 1 M 3.56) from the formal and legalistic wording of Dt 20.5-8, and indeed the slight change in the order of the categories, but also the complete omission of

reference to regulations for cultic purity (i.e. in terms of Dt 23.10-15 (EVV 9-14)) (387). As has already been noted, our author is not primarily concerned with the presentation of formal war regulations. Moreover, the Maccabaeen passage presents a statement in indirect speech; it might be argued that when Judas delivered his address, the proximity to the style and wording of the Deuteronomic rules may have been more marked. With reference to the regulations prescribed in Dt 23.10-15, these deal exclusively with the war camp; the Mizpah situation corresponds more closely to that envisaged in Dt 20.5-8; the question of camp purity, therefore, does not really arise for the writer of Maccabees.

It must be noted that although Judas is said to implement specific war ordinances, we are given no direct indication as to their meaning or purpose either for the author or for the Maccabaeen warriors. We cannot for instance conclude from the brief references that the regulations for warrior disqualification were understood ipso facto as cultic safeguards (388) for the Maccabaeen militia. On the other hand, the presence of Nazirites at Mizpah and the existence within the Maccabaeen army of warrior Hasidaeans would lead us to suppose the revival of cultic aspects of the ancient holy war tradition in the unique circumstances of the Maccabaeen Revolt (cf *supra* p 85; *infra* p 105 & note (417)).

Indirect evidence of the cultic nature of Maccabaeen warfare may be found in 2 Maccabees 12.40, according to which Jewish warriors, killed in battle, are discovered to be wearing idolatrous cult objects (389) under their tunics. This is stated to be the reason for their deaths. Two notes in the passage indicate that a cultic offence has been committed. Firstly, such objects of pagan worship are said to be forbidden by the Law (v 40; cf Ex 20.4; Dt 5.8; 7.25f). Secondly, Judas levies a contribution of silver from every man as a sin-offering (v 43) (390). The true purpose (391) of this offering on the part of the innocent may have been to save the army from the consequences of the offenders' sin, and therefore to that extent, to safeguard the cultic integrity of the fighting force.

Leadership

With regard to the leadership of the army, the Maccabaeen tradition shows several points of departure from the Deuteronomic war code.

Deuteronomy 20.2-3 stipulates that the exhortation of the army before battle is to be carried out by the priest (392). At Mizpah

no priestly function is mentioned in connection with the battle preparations (393). The words of encouragement are delivered by Judas — and logically, at the conclusion of the pre-battle rites.

Deuteronomy 20.5-8 further enjoins that the officers will address the army with a view to the exemption of certain categories of men and the dismissal of the fainthearted. Again at Mizpah, Judas undertakes this function. Indeed, at Mizpah there would seem to be no need for the Deuteronomic "officers" — and for good reason. The

דָּוָרָאֵם were in fact royal officials, and, in the military context, professional recruiting officers (the Septuagint at Dt 20.5,8,9 translates γραμματεῖς, "scribes"). The term, therefore, reflects the situation (at the time of the Monarchy) of a standing army and permanently commissioned officers. It would be unwise to suggest for instance that the Maccabaeen "commanders of the people" (ἡγουμένοι τοῦ λαοῦ, 1 M 3.55a) correspond in any way to the דָּוָרָאֵם of Dt 20.5,8,9. The sense of 1 M 3.55 indicates rather that the "commanders of the people" are in fact the unit-commanders described in the second half of the verse. This correspondence is further confirmed by the fact that they are appointed by Judas. The Maccabaeen commanders clearly correspond to the "commanders of the hosts" of Dt 20.9b (לִי־אֲנִי־וְלָאֲחֵי־אֵשֶׁתִּי, LXX προηγουμένοι τοῦ λαοῦ).

The pre-eminent position of Judas at Mizpah and in the subsequent campaigns prompts the question as to whether he should be regarded as a charismatic leader in the old sense (394).

In 1 Maccabees 9.21 Judas is described in eulogy as a "warrior champion" (δυνατός, i.e. חֵן נִבְּרָה), and as the "deliverer" (שׁוֹצֵאֵם) of Israel. The ancient charismatic war-leader was essentially a deliverer (שׁוֹצֵאֵם, Ju 3.9,15; cf Ju 2.16,18; 3.31; 8.22; 13.5).

It is clear, moreover, that the leadership throughout the Revolt is the prerogative of the Hasmonaeen house (cf Simon's address to the people, 1 M 13.3-7), and that that leadership must not be challenged.

According to 1 Maccabees 5.62 only the house of Hashmon was destined to bring deliverance to Israel (395). Perhaps the episode of the priests who ventured rashly into battle (1 M 5.67) may partly be understood in this connection.

Thus, to the mind at least of the writer of First Maccabees, the Hasmonaeen leaders acted by divine authority, and must therefore

have appeared as worthy successors of the charismatic leaders of the ancient holy wars.

IV

Characterisation of the Maccabaeen warriors.

As noted above (pp 98foot-99), the authors of First and Second Maccabees make no direct reference to Deuteronomic regulations for the cultic purity of warrior or camp. Nor is there any explicit mention of warrior abstinence (sc. cultic chastity) such as we find in the episodes of David's warriors (1 Sam 21.1-10) and Uriah the Hittite (2 Sam 11.6-13). This does not mean that the accepted laws of levitical purity (e.g., the regulations dealing with physical uncleanness of Lev 15) would not be scrupulously observed by faithful Jews in the Maccabaeen period (396); nor should we assume that the authors of First and Second Maccabees regarded the warrior and warfare as being outwith the sphere of the cult (397). It is necessary, despite the "secular" tone of First Maccabees, to view the Maccabaeen Revolt in relation to the contemporary spiritual movement of intense devotion to the Law, for it is precisely this Torah-centred Judaism which is the cause to which the Maccabees, initially at any rate, commit themselves and their forces. Defence of Torah, and of the whole religious way of life which it inculcates, is the mark of resistance, passive and militant, against renegade hellenisers as well as alien persecutors. The faithful were willing not only to suffer and die for the Torah, there were also those who were willing to fight and kill for the Torah (398). Complete devotion to the Law brings a new emphasis, indeed, a new dimension to the concept of warrior consecration: to the cult of purity is added an ethic of piety which makes faithful observance of the Law the supreme rule of life. This is reflected in specific statements dealing with the composition of the Maccabaeen army and the characterisation of its men.

According to 1 Maccabees 2.28,39,42-43, three distinct groups constitute the army recruited by Mattathias (399).

Initially there is a comparatively small band comprising Mattathias, his sons, and immediate followers (vv 28,39). These are joined by a "contingent of Hasidaeans" (400) specifically described (v 42). The army is further augmented by "all who sought refuge from the troubles" (v 43). Verses 29-38 of the same chapter may indicate the history of a similar company of fugitives. We should not too readily assume that such fugitives are to be identified completely or necessarily with the Hasidaeans of verse 42, or, that the company mentioned in verses 29-38 formed a fighting force which simply

desisted from hostilities on the Sabbath (401). The brief references in these passages do not seem to warrant such assumptions. Indeed, the opposite may appear more likely from the description of the fugitives in verses 29-38. They are portrayed as pious Jews who have fled to the open country with their families and their cattle (402) in order to practise their faith and maintain their Law undisturbed (cf 1 M 1.53; 2 M 6.11). When the test comes — in the form of the challenge and ultimatum of the Seleucid forces — they prefer to "meet death with a clear conscience" rather than compromise the Law (403) and betray their faith. These particular Jews are doubtless only one community among many who, in the course of the persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes, preferred to leave the towns to the apostates and the Temple to its defilers. To remain in the towns meant either renouncing Law and Covenant or facing torture and martyrdom (404). The purpose, therefore, of their retreat "into the wilds" is not in the first instance the deliberate formation of a military resistance force (405), but rather the establishing of a true community — indeed, the "true Israel" — on the basis of Torah and Covenant. The entry of Hasidaeans into military alliance with the house of Hashmon may well have been the decisive event which persuaded some of the fugitives to take up arms in defence of their religion. It is certainly more than coincidental that at the outset of his campaign of armed resistance, Mattathias has to decide upon the vexed question of fighting on the Sabbath (1 M 2.41) (406). Even so, the decision taken does not endorse all-out military offensive on the Sabbath, but only retaliation in the case of enemy attack (407). W.R. Farmer is undoubtedly correct in his statement that fighting on the Sabbath "is not to be understood as evidence of secular motivation" (408). Furthermore, the apparent "pacifism" of the pious fugitives (i.e., of 1 M 2.29-38) possibly had a much deeper motivation than simply their devotion to the Law. Their refusal to take up arms to defend themselves may have been a direct consequence of their belief that God Himself would deliver them from the enemy. Thus, even the ultra-pious may have shared one of the fundamental concepts of holy war.

The participation of Hasidaeans in active warfare is of the foremost importance for our study of the Maccabaeen Revolt (409).

The traditions embodied in the general hasidic movement go back at least to the post-exilic period and have their origin in a spirit of pious devotion to the Law. N.H. Snaith aptly describes the

7207 as "one who is faithful in keeping covenant" (410).

Significantly, defence of the Law becomes the rallying point of the Maccabaeen Revolt (411), as, indeed, pious zeal for the Law becomes the predominant spirit of the Maccabaeen struggle. This is well illustrated in the second chapter of First Maccabees (cf vv 19-22, 26-27, 48, 50, 67; for the concept of zeal, vide infra pp 106f).

More important, however, is the probability that the Hasidaeans are the descendants of a tradition more ancient than that of post-exilic Torah-centred Judaism, namely, the holy war tradition which has its roots ultimately in primitive desert Yahwism. Direct evidence relevant to this proposition, though somewhat scarce, is nevertheless compelling.

In 1 Maccabees 2.42 the Hasidaeans are described by two phrases which recall the character of the ancient warriors of Israel.

Firstly, they are designated "mighty men of Israel" — *ἰσχυροὶ δυνάμει ἀπὸ Ἰσραὴλ* — a phrase comparable to the Hebrew *גִּיּוֹרֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל* (412). For the writer of First Maccabees the Hasidaeans are clearly the modern counterparts of the heroic warriors of Israel's past.

Secondly, we read that "each one had willingly offered himself for the Law". The phrase *ἐκούσιαζόμενος τῷ νόμῳ* presents a positive linguistic link with the holy war tradition, namely, in the all-important concept of voluntary warrior devotion which is conveyed by the Greek verb. The same Greek verb is used in the Septuagint to render the Hithpa'el of *נָזַר* (413) primarily in the description of the nazirite warriors of the Deborah-Barak battle (Ju 5.2,9; cf also 2 Chr 17.16).

We may be justified in concluding that these militant Hasidaeans represent a revival of the cultic levy, a volunteer militia, answering the call to arms in the cause and under the direction of God. They may also be regarded as embodying the concept of the nazirite warrior, the ancient devotee of Yahweh, and here, in keeping with the ethos of the Maccabaeen period, we see that it is the Law which forms the focal point of Hasidaeen devotion. Herein would seem to lie the uniqueness of their contribution as a contingent of the Maccabaeen army (414). V. Tcherikover correctly assesses their role in the conflict as that of fostering the religious zeal of the Maccabaeen troops (415). It is also reasonable to suppose that such hasidic warriors would be strictly bound by the ancient warrior code. This is perhaps the implication of the technical expressions *συνεστήσαντο δυνάμιν* (1 M 2.44), which may be interpreted: "raised a holy war force" (416), and, *ἐκπορευόμενοι εἰς πόλεμον*

(1 M 3.13; cf supra p 95), meaning "(ritually) fit for military service".

That the concepts and practices of holy war were revived in the Maccabaeen period may be due in no small measure to the influence and example of the militant Hasidaeans.

In themselves the Hasidaeans present the most significant link in the tradition-history of holy war. The references which we have considered clearly place them within the organisation of the Maccabaeen army and in the new tradition of devotion to Torah. At the same time, they are seen to represent and revive the ancient holy war tradition and are specifically connected with the concept of the consecrated warrior. M. Black considers that there is a definite connection between the Hasidaeans and the ancient tribal asceticism of Israel especially in respect of the possible revival in the Maccabaeen period of the life-long nazirate and the sexual tabu of the ancient Israelite warrior (417). Two further points may be raised here.

Firstly, the presence of Nazirites at the Mizpah assembly (cf supra p 85) indicates not only that the institution, albeit of the temporary nazirate in terms of Numbers 6, survived or was revived in the Maccabaeen period, but, more importantly, that the ideas and concepts of Nazirite-type consecration, together with the inherent possibility of the extension (418) of the temporary vow, were current and viable at the time of the Maccabaeen crisis. Furthermore, we must consider the possibility that the Nazirites at Mizpah might in fact be hasidic warriors belonging, in part at least, to the group of Hasidaeans mentioned in 1 Maccabees 2.42. If this were the case, we might suggest further that the writer of First Maccabees has misunderstood the real implication of the presence of Nazirites at Mizpah, and has mistakenly viewed their "consecration" only in terms of the temporary vow of individual ascetic piety. It is noteworthy that the Nazirites are not mentioned at the subsequent restoration of the Temple (1 M 4.41-58). Although the Mizpah passage gives no details of the composition of the Maccabaeen army, it is reasonable to suppose that the details already presented in 1 Maccabees 2.28, 39, 42-43 (cf supra p 102) apply equally well to the army organised by Judas at Mizpah. A note in 1 Maccabees 3.1-2 indicates that Judas took over the leadership from his father and had the support of his father's followers. Definite confirmation of the existence within the army of Judas of a distinctly "pious" (indeed, hasidic)

group is found in 1 Maccabees 3.13 where it is reported that Judas had gathered a force "fit for military service" which included a company of the faithful (419). Here the relevant phrase, ἐκκλησία πιστῶν, would seem to be the equivalent of συναγωγή Ἀσιδαίων in 1 Maccabees 2.42.

Secondly, in the concept of zeal further evidence is provided of the character and degree of warrior consecration obtaining in the Maccabaeen period. Indeed, in the emphasis which the authors of First and Second Maccabees place on the concept of zeal we may see a definite and practical revival of the whole ethos of warrior devotion. In particular, this concept may well provide the closest link between the hasidic warriors and the ancient nazirite tradition of warrior consecration. The innovation in Maccabees (cf supra p 104) is that the Old Testament "zeal for Yahweh" has become "zeal for Torah" (420). The concept of zeal is so much part of the thinking of the author of First Maccabees that he affirms that some of the heroic figures of Israel's past were in fact "zealous for Torah" (421). Significantly, zeal for Torah is demonstrable not only in pious devotion to the precepts of the Law, or in passive resistance to the enemies of the Law, but also, more positively and more effectively, in zealous (sc. violent) action. For the author of First Maccabees (422), Mattathias, priest of Modin, is the "zealot" par excellence, who, in his spontaneous slaughter of a Syrian officer and a renegade Jew, shows himself the worthy successor of Phinehas (1 M 2.26) (423). This type of violent action may be traced back to the oldest Hebrew traditions, and is evident in association with various kinds of Yahweh loyalists — the charismatic leader, the nazirite warrior, the prophetic champion, the puritanical Rechabite (424).

Important also in this connection is the Maccabaeen revival of the ancient holy war rite of herem.

An explicit statement of the practice is found in 1 Maccabees 5.5. In his campaign against the Baeonites, Judas traps the enemy in their fortified towers, "vows them to destruction" (425), and puts the towers to the torch. In three other instances the entire male population is put to the sword and the towns completely destroyed (1 M 5.28,35;51; cf Nu 21.2-3; 31.7,10; Dt 13.15).

Furthermore, systematic destruction of pagan altars, images and temples is also attested in the Maccabaeen wars.

At the beginning of the revolt, Mattathias, after slaying the King's officer and the apostate Jew, pulls down the pagan altar at Modin

(1 M 2.24-26), and having been joined by the Hasidæan contingent, sweeps through the country breaking down pagan altars, forcibly circumcising uncircumcised boys, and hunting down renegades (ibid vv 43-48). W.O.E. Oesterley (426) connects the campaign against pagan worship with the entry of the Hasidæans into alliance with Mattathias, noting that the former "inflamed the zeal of the loyalists". Actions to remove the signs of pagan worship are taken up in other parts of the Maccabæan story (cf 1 M 5.44,68; 10.84; 13.47-48,50; 14.7,36; 2 M 10.2).

The practice of herem and the actions against the alien cult are perfectly in accord with the principles laid down in the Book of Deuteronomy (427).

Characterisation of the enemy

In First and Second Maccabees definite moralistic overtones are apparent in the authors' characterisation of the enemy.

This element does not appear in the oldest holy war tradition but is developed by the prophets, particularly in their oracles against foreign nations, and also appears in some Psalms (428).

Of Alexander of Macedon it is said that his pride knew no limit (1 M 1.3). The pride, arrogance and godlessness of Antiochus Epiphanes are referred to throughout (1 M 1.21; 2 M 5.17,21; 7.36b; 9.4,11,28; 10.10). Nicanor is similarly denigrated (1 M 7.42; 2 M 8.14; 15.6,32,33). In 2 Maccabees 7.34 Antiochus is addressed as "impious man" (ἀνόσιος ; cf the Hebrew construction ת'וה־לֵס in Ps 43.1).

Enemy aliens in general are denounced as as arrogant (υἱοὶ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας , 1 M 2.47), and godless (οἱ ἀσεβεῖς ἄνθρωποι , 2 M 8.2). They are sinners (ἔθνος ἁμαρτωλόν , 1 M 1.34), and blasphemers (τὰ δύσφημα ἔθνη , 2 M 13.11; βλάσφημα καὶ βάρβαρα ἔθνη , 2 M 10.4).

Notable in this connection is the pejorative attitude towards hellenising Jews. They are characterised as lawless (ἄνομοι , 1 M 2.44; 3.5,6; 7.5; 9.23,58,69; 11.25; cf the explicit phrase in 1 M 1.52 : πᾶς ὁ ἐγκαταλείπων τὸν νόμον), godless (ἀσεβής , 1 M 3.8,15; 6.21; 7.5; 9.73), and as sinners (ἁμαρτωλοί , 1 M 2.44).

The author of Second Maccabees notes the godlessness and utter profanity (ἀναγνεία) of Jason the high priest (4.13).

Of particular interest is the use in a few instances of a phrase which corresponds to the Septuagint rendering of the Hebrew

הַמְּלִיכִים הַזֵּהִים (429). F.-M. Abel draws attention to two such instances. In 1 Maccabees 1.11 the chief instigators of hellenisation are called υἱοὶ παράνομοι (430). Similarly, in 1 Maccabees 1.34 we find the reading ἄνδρες παράνομοι (thus LXX Dt 13.14; cf also 1 M 10.61; 11.21). The passage in Deuteronomy (13.14-19(EVV 13-18)) is particularly relevant for the Maccabaeen context. The הַמְּלִיכִים הַזֵּהִים in the former are advocates of apostasy,

and the means of expiation advocated by the Deuteronomist are complete annihilation of the population and total destruction of the town (i.e., the practice of herem). Likewise, in First Maccabees the designation of the renegades as *ὑιοὶ* (or, *ἄνδρες*) *παράνομοι* clearly indicates that these are essentially enemies of the Law. Moreover, whereas the Deuteronomist, for the situation of his day, envisages ideally the revival of the ancient rite of holy war as the answer to apostasy, the Maccabees in no uncertain manner carry the ideal into practice (cf supra p 106) and in this respect make holy war a reality in their time.

Another Septuagint rendering of the Hebrew expression *בְּנֵי חַוְלָה* is *ὑιοὶ λοίμοι*, with which we may compare 1 Maccabees 10.61 : *ἄνδρες λοίμοι* (431).

Theological interpretation of catastrophe

Another element which may be traced ultimately to the prophetic tradition, and in particular to the prophetic oracles against the nations and the Day of Yahweh concept, is the emphasis on divine wrath and judgment (432).

For the enemy, God's judgment (2 M 7.35-36; 9.4,18), vengeance (2 M 8.11), and retribution (2 M 4.38) are as inevitable as they are final.

According to 1 Maccabees 6.11-13 even Antiochus comes to realise that his misfortunes and death are due to his crimes against the Jews and their Temple.

The Jews themselves are under divine judgment. The persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes is succinctly summed up in the statement:

".... and a great wrath came upon Israel" (1 M 1.64; cf Dan 11.36; 2 Chr 24.18). Significantly, the Temple shares in the adversities of the nation. Thus, we read that God in His anger abandoned the Temple (2 M 5.20) (433).

More specifically, the writer of Second Maccabees adds to the concept of divine wrath the theological idea that national calamity is the result of the people's sin, and is therefore justly deserved (2 M 7.18,32,38). In particular, it is the sin of the people of Jerusalem that has brought down the divine wrath (2 M 5.17).

Likewise, the Jerusalem priesthood are especially condemned for neglecting their proper functions; their hellenising tendencies are said to be the cause of their misfortunes (2 M 4.13-17).

A more positive note is apparent in the thought that the disasters and sufferings of the Jews, which are construed as divine punishment, are intended to discipline (434) the race (2 M 6.12; 7.33).

Furthermore, the writer considers that the divine wrath is of short duration (2 M 5.17; 7.33) (435); God has not abandoned His people (2 M 6.16; 7.16). Conversely, according to 2 Maccabees 8.5 the reason for the invincibility of Judas is the fact that God's anger has changed to mercy.

A notable feature in this connection is the interpretation of the actions of the faithful as a means of atonement. Thus, Judas' destruction of the ungodly in the towns of Judah is said to "turn away wrath from Israel" (1 M 3.8). Here we have an essential link with the Phinehas tradition: the zealous action of Phinehas halted the plague and turned away the divine wrath (Nu 25.8,11) (436).

In addition, the emphasis on martyrdom in Second Maccabees leads to the suggestion that the sufferings and deaths of the Jewish martyrs serve to expiate the sins of the race and bring the period of wrath to an end (2 M 7.37-38). E. Lohse notes that the meaning of the deaths of the martyrs becomes a crucial issue during the period of persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes (437).

"True Israel"

The characterisation of the enemy and of Jewish renegades noted above (pp 108f) serves to accentuate the separation of Jew and Gentile, and specifically the distinction between faithful devotees of the Law and hellenising renegades. This distinction in particular gives support to the suggestion that the faithful Jews at the time of the Maccabean Revolt considered themselves as the "true Israel".

In a few instances in First Maccabees the name Israel is applied exclusively to the faithful. According to 1 Maccabees 1.53 the implementation of the decree of Antiochus Epiphanes forces "Israel" into hiding (438). In contrast to a force of renegade Jews the faithful are called "the children of Israel" (1 M 3.15). The defeat of Gorgias at Emmaus is regarded as "a great deliverance for Israel" (1 M 4.25; for the phrase, cf 1 Sam 14.45; 19.5). In the same passage God is addressed as the "Deliverer of Israel" (v 30), and Judas refers to his army as "Thy people Israel" (v 31). Elsewhere we read that Judas and his brothers "fought the fight of Israel" (1 M 3.2; cf 16.2).

The writer of Second Maccabees provides a significant expression.

The faithful are described as God's "chosen lot", ἡ ἐαυτοῦ μερίς (2 M 14.15b; cf 1.26).

The term μερίς occurs in the Septuagint as the equivalent of the Hebrew מִן, "portion", which applied originally to the partitioning of land (cf Josh 14.4; 15.13; 18.7; 19.9) (439).

A new concept appears in Deuteronomy 32.9 — Yahweh's portion is His people (cf Eccclus. 17.17). We may note also the promise in Zechariah 2.16 (EVV 12) to the effect that Yahweh will again claim Judah as His portion in the holy land and make Jerusalem the city of His choice.

The extent of divine intervention in battle is one of the most important factors for assessing the character of the Maccabaeen wars. Equally crucial is the question of how the writers relate human warrior activity to divine intervention.

It is readily apparent that here the authors of First and Second Maccabees differ considerably from each other in their presentation of the revolt. It is important to realise, however, that the differences between First and Second Maccabees detract neither from the authenticity of the books nor from their historical value (440).

In general, First Maccabees is concerned to extol the heroic deeds of the house of Hashmon and their victorious armies, whereas Second Maccabees presents a more spiritual and theologically-motivated portrayal, central to which is the emphasis on the miraculous.

Our purpose in examining the evidence of both authors is to show that their accounts of the Maccabaeen Revolt are not essentially contradictory, and that in fact the conceptual presentation in each case has its place in the total tradition-history of holy war.

First Maccabees

G. von Rad, following Schäfer and Bickermann, rightly notes the absence of direct miraculous intervention in First Maccabees (441). Whether this is sufficient reason, however, for the conclusion that the Maccabaeen campaigns were not conducted on the lines of holy war, may well be questioned. We have already noted evidence in First Maccabees of authentic holy war concepts and practices and significant developments and extensions of the same — especially the new emphasis on cultic (penitential) preparation for battle, enquiry of God, the role and content of war speeches, the important references to warrior consecration, and the vital concept of zeal for the whole ethos of the Maccabaeen struggle. Now we must consider further evidence in First Maccabees pertaining more specifically to the concept of divine intervention and to the related question of human warrior activity.

As noted above (p 91), holy war motifs are found in pre-battle addresses and prayers (1 M 3.18-22; 4.8-11, 31-33; 9.46).

Some indication of a belief in divine aid and intervention is apparent in these passages.

Particularly important is the motif of God "crushing" the enemy (1 M 3.22; 4.10; cf 7.42) (442).

The motif of divine deliverance is also evident. Judas prays that God will deliver the enemy into their power (1 M 4.31). This is a fundamental concept in the ancient war tradition, where it is taken up in the divine promises of victory and in the war leader's encouragement address (cf supra pp 19-20 & notes (95) (96)). We may compare the reference to God as "Deliverer of Israel" (1 M 3.40). Similarly, Jonathan calls on his men to pray to God to save them from the hands of the enemy (1 M 9.46). According to 1 Maccabees 12.15, Jonathan states in a letter to the Spartans:

"We have the aid of Heaven to help us, and so we have been saved from our enemies and they have been humbled".

Again, in Judas' prayer we may discern a hint of the concept of divine panic and the accompanying motifs of confusion and the enemy's strength turned to weakness (1 M 4.31b-32).

The practice of pre-battle prayer is an outstanding feature of the Maccabaeen narratives. Divine help is consistently sought by means of prayer (1 M 3.53; 4.10,30-33; 7.40-42). Indeed, it may be suggested that the "cry to Heaven" for help (cf 1 M 3.50a; 4.10,40; 5.31; 9.46) to some extent replaces the ancient practice of seeking divine guidance and help by oracular means. The close association of prayer with battle is even more apparent in 1 Maccabees 5.33 where the sounding of the battle trumpets is followed by shouts of prayer instead of the customary battle-cry.

A few passages indicate clearly that God is believed to be the author and giver of victory (1 M 4.10-11,31-33; cf 3.22,53).

Especially relevant is the subordinate clause in 1 Maccabees 4.11, since it presents the fundamental motivation of the concept of divine action on behalf of His people:

".... then all the nations will know that there is one who saves and liberates Israel".

In the Old Testament this statement essentially sums up the saving acts of Yahweh (cf supra p 91).

Admittedly, in the descriptions of the fighting which immediately follow the various passages mentioned above, the author of First Maccabees makes no reference to actual divine intervention, panic or deliverance, but records the battle action from a purely human standpoint (cf 1 M 3.23f; 4.12-15,34; 5.34ff; 7.43-46; 9.47ff).

It must be observed, however, that the "human" fighting in each case is quite briefly and sketchily described — the preliminaries of battle receive the greater emphasis. This is even more obvious in the contrast between the detailed description of the Mizpah assembly and the subsequent account of the battle of Emmaus. Is this perhaps a deliberate contrast, and are we therefore entitled to assume that the war preparations, speeches, and prayers are more important for the author than the description of the battle itself? In this connection it is noteworthy that G. von Rad, with reference to the David and Goliath narrative, draws attention to "the shift almost of the whole event into the spiritual sphere of the speeches" (443). In First Maccabees the war speeches and prayers are important in themselves as indicating the meaning of the revolt for the author. Further, since the author was a contemporary, or near contemporary of the events which he describes (444), we may reasonably suppose that his views mirror the beliefs and opinions of the faithful Jews, especially the Hasidaeans, of the period, and that his work, therefore, fairly represents the mind of the Maccabees and the spiritual ethos and thought-background of their wars. Moreover, since the war speeches and prayers form an integral part of the narrative, we should not draw too sharp a distinction between them and the subsequent (briefly described) fighting.

A more fundamental question concerns the author's deliberate "glorification" of the Hasmonaeans and their men.

This attitude accords with the peculiarly "secular" nuance of many of the author's comments (445). F.-M. Abel remarks that the "glory" motif "may be regarded as a Greek infiltration into the author's environment" (446).

We must not, however, overlook the considerable role of the human warrior in the earliest war traditions of ancient Israel. There too, human endeavour merited praise, and human war-leaders were duly glorified. This is seen in the Deborah-Barak battle. The participating tribes are praised for their willing offering of themselves to Yahweh (Ju 5.2,9,14f,18), and Jael is honoured for her efficient dispatch of Sisera (Ju 5.24-27). With the heroic actions of Ehud and Shamgar (Ju 3.15-23,31) we may compare the outstanding example of Eleazar's self-sacrifice in battle (1 M 6.43-46).

All the Old Testament charismatic war-deliverers are portrayed as truly heroic figures. Above all, David the warrior is glorified in the victory songs of the women:

"Saul has slain his thousands, David his tens of thousands."

(1 Sam 18.7; 21.11)

G. von Rad maintains, with reference to the ancient holy war tradition, that, although victory is in the ultimate due solely to Yahweh, human activity in battle is not thereby excluded (447). Thus, participation in Yahweh's wars can be described as "coming to the help of Yahweh" (Ju 5.23).

In First Maccabees, in a comparable way, we find divine activity and human effort closely associated. Thus, in one remarkable passage Judas prays to God:

"Overthrow them by the sword of those who love Thee" (1 M 4.33). This statement probably best sums up the author's idea of holy war, and his understanding of the relation between divine and human activity in the Maccabaeen battles. It is important to see that for the author there seems to be no essential contradiction or any sense of paradox here. In the presentation of First Maccabees, therefore, emphasis on human activity, especially as exemplified in "zealous" action in support of the Law (cf supra p 106), may well correspond to those aspects of the tradition-history of holy war which clearly indicate an active fighting role for the human warrior.

Numbers unimportant

A corollary to the principle of divine help in battle is the concept that "victory does not depend on numbers". This is explicitly stated in 1 Maccabees 3.19. In the same passage (v 17) the reaction of Judas' followers to Seron's massive fighting force echoes the fear of the Hebrew spies returning from their initial sortie into Canaan (Nu 13.28), and the first part of Judas' reply:

".... it makes no difference to Heaven to save by many or by few" (1 M 3.18), resembles the confidence expressed by Jonathan before his exploit against the Philistine outpost (1 Sam 14.6). We may recall also how Gideon is made to reduce his army before Yahweh will guarantee victory (Ju 7.2,4,7). In another Maccabaeen passage Judas exhorts his men not to fear the great numbers of the enemy (1 M 4.8).

The contrast between military strength and divine power is taken up by the writer of Second Maccabees. Some indication of the inadequacy and futility of human forces is found in 1 Maccabees 4.31b-32.

/Heilsgeschichte

Heilsgeschichte

Significantly, the recall of past saving acts of Yahweh also forms part of the content of the prayers and war addresses in First Maccabees.

Before the battle of Emmaus, Judas recalls the crossing of the Sea (1 M 4.9 : Ex 14.13-31). In his prayer before the battle against Lysias, Judas recalls the episode of David and Goliath, and the attack of Jonathan and his armour-bearer on the Philistine outpost (1 M 4.30 : 1 Sam 17.45-47; 14.1-16). Prior to the battle against Nicanor, again in a prayer, Judas recalls the miraculous decimation of Sennacherib's forces by Yahweh's destroying angel (1 M 7.41 : 2 K 19.35) — in the Maccabaeen passage it is notable that it is God Himself who is asked to crush the enemy.

Second Maccabees

More explicit evidence of divine activity and intervention in battle is provided by the author of Second Maccabees. The main characteristic of this work is the spiritual elaboration of the whole prospect of the revolt. The history, as F.-M. Abel rightly comments (448), is seen from the theological point of view.

A unique feature is the prominence given to the supernatural manifestation of the divine and to the miraculous act of God. In some instances we come very close to the concept "the battle is the Lord's" which is especially predominant in the idealised war narratives of the Old Testament and in the Chronicler's history (449), and which tends ultimately to exclude human warrior activity.

An instructive passage is found in 2 Maccabees 3.24-28.

When Heliodorus attempts to appropriate the Temple funds he is confronted by a terrifying apparition. Although the scene is the Temple, the imagery of the manifestation pertains to war — mention is made of the "panic", the war horse, and the armoured rider. Further, it is not merely a vision; Heliodorus is physically attacked by the horse and beaten by two (supernatural) young men. With characteristic emphasis it is made clear that God is the author of these events (cf vv 28b-30, 34, 38b-39).

According to a comparable passage (2 M 5.2-4), portentous apparitions appear in the sky over Jerusalem for forty days. In this scene a

whole battle array is presented, and an aerial conflict ensues. The background to this manifestation is not primarily (as verse 1 might seem to indicate) the advance of Antiochus into Egypt, but rather the machinations of Jason and Menelaus (cf 2 M 4), which culminated in Jason's armed attack on the city (2 M 5.5-6) and resulted in his ignominious end (ibid vv 7-10).

Divine intervention (in the form of supernatural manifestation) in an actual battle is evident in 2 Maccabees 10.29-31.

At the height of the battle against Timotheus the enemy see five horsemen in the sky. These place themselves at the head of the Jews, surrounding and shielding Judas. Arrows and thunderbolts are launched against the enemy, blinding them and throwing them into disorder. A vast number of the enemy are slain. Significantly, there is no express mention of human warrior activity in this part of the conflict.

A slightly modified presentation of the concept is apparent in the episode related in 2 Maccabees 11.8-11. Here the human element is not excluded. The apparition, a horseman in white with armour and weapons of gold, serves to encourage and inspire the warriors to fight fiercely, and they in fact destroy the enemy. The rationale of the battle is indicated, however, in the thought imputed to Lysias, that the Jews were invincible because the mighty God fought along with them (v 13).

With these various apparitions of horsemen we may compare the vision of the hills covered with horsemen and chariots of fire in 2 Kings 6.17 (cf ibid 7.6). Less explicit perhaps is the note in 2 Samuel 5.24, according to which David is to delay his attack on the Philistines until he hears a rustling in the trees — the sound of Yahweh's hosts marshalled against the enemy.

Although the writer of Second Maccabees relates the manifestations to historical events of the period, his apocalyptic-type imagery almost takes us into the realm of the cosmic supernatural conflict envisaged in the Qumran battle scroll. Moreover, in its origins this imagery is closely linked with various aspects of divine intervention which are evident in the holy war tradition (450).

Apart from the appearance of celestial figures, reference is also made to God's destroying angel (vide supra note (280)).

Judas and his men pray that God will send "a good angel to deliver Israel" (2 M 11.6). Although the context is that of prayer, the appearance in battle of the heavenly horseman (v 8; cf v 10 "their

heavenly ally") may be seen as the answer to the prayer.

Similarly, in 2 Maccabees 15.23, in a passage expressly related to the Sennacherib episode, Judas prays for a good angel to precede the Jewish army spreading fear and panic (cf 1 M 7.41f., noted supra p 116). The Jews slaughter a vast number of the enemy, and the writer comments that "they were greatly cheered by the manifestation of God" (2 M 15.27). A note in 2 Maccabees 14.15b describes God as the one who always comes to the help of His chosen people "with manifestations".

Belief in God's active presence in battle is otherwise variously indicated.

The ancient motif of God "fighting for His people", or, "fighting on their side" is particularly noteworthy (2 M 8.24a; 10.16; 11.13b; cf supra note (103)).

The brief notice that Judas and his men were "led by the Lord" (2 M 10.1) is faintly reminiscent of the ancient war motif of Yahweh "going before" (cf supra note (103)).

In two instances divine panic is specifically mentioned. In one the context is a prayer for divine help (2 M 15.23; cf also the prayer in 1 M 4.31b-32, noted supra p 113), and in the other instance, significantly, the practical context of battle is evident (2 M 12.22). The latter corresponds exactly to the presentation of the panic motif in the ancient holy war tradition (cf supra note (270)), and again we note that the panic is caused by a "manifestation of the all-seeing one".

The effects of the divine panic are also apparent in the narrative of 2 Maccabees 10.29-30 where the apparitions throw the enemy into confusion.

Consonant with the concept of God's presence in battle is the conviction that victory comes from God (2 M 10.28,38; 15.8; cf 12.16a; cf supra note (286)).

The echo of another ancient war motif may be discerned in 2 Maccabees 15.8 where Judas urges his men to "look to the Almighty for the victory which He would send...." The motif, "looking to Yahweh", G. von Rad finds significant as a link between the prophetic tradition, represented by Isaiah (Is 22.8b-11; 31.1b; cf 5.12b; 7.4a), and the aspect of the holy war tradition presented in the "spiritualised" war narratives, namely, the portrayal of the war event as absolute Yahweh miracle. In regard to the latter, the human relation to the battle is epitomised in the key-word: "Stand still and see the deliverance of Yahweh" (Ex 14.13), and significantly, this theme is

taken up again in the unique battle situation described by the Chronicler (2 Chr 20.17; cf. ibid v 12b). (451).

As in First Maccabees, supplication is universally made in order to obtain divine help (2 M 8.2,3,14; 10.16,25,26; 11.6; 12.15,28,36; 13.10,12; 14.15; 15.21), and this supplication again implies and is based upon a firm reliance on God's help (thus explicitly: 2 M 8.18; cf: 1 M 2.61b; 2 M 13.14a; 15.7).

Weapons contrasted with faith in God

As in the Old Testament examples of holy war, absolute reliance on God is the essential attitude of the warrior. In Second Maccabees this reliance is contrasted with the enemy's trust in his weapons and forces. Thus, Judas says of Nicanor's forces :

"They rely on their weapons and their audacity, but we rely on God Almighty, who is able to overthrow with a nod our present assailants and, if need be, the whole world" (2 M 8.18).

A definitive statement of the warrior's faith is found in 2 Maccabees 15.21, according to which Judas, faced with a superior enemy force,

".... knew that God grants victory to those who deserve it, not because of their military strength but as He himself decides".

References to the unimportance of numbers are less explicit in Second Maccabees. In one instance Judas appeals to his men not to fear the size of the enemy army (2 M 8.16).

In the contrast between reliance on God and military strength we have a distinct revival of a concept which is essential to the theory of holy war and which is evident throughout the tradition-history of holy war (cf supra p 21 & note (109)).

Designation of God

Various epithets and designations applied to the deity have a bearing on the Maccabaeian belief in God's intervention and help in battle. Many of these refer in general to God as supreme Ruler:

"Ruler of the world" (2 M 12.15), "Ruler" (12.28), "Creator of the world" (13.14), "Ruler of heaven" (15.23), "Ruler of spirits and of all powers" (3.24), "the all-seeing one" (12.22; 7.6), "the Lord omnipotent" (3.22), "Worker of miracles" (15.21).

The expression "Ruler of spirits and of all powers" (2 M 3.24) is especially interesting. We may compare the Old Testament designation

Yahweh of hosts, which has a close connection with the holy war tradition (vide supra pp 52f).

Descriptions of God which bear more exactly on His role as the God of battle are also found. Thus, He is designated:

"the Lord who gives victory" (2 M 10.38), "Ally and Leader in battle" (12.36), "the one who has always fought for our nation" (14.34), "the Sovereign whose might shatters the strength of the enemy" (12.28).

In these epithets and descriptions we come very close to the image of Yahweh presented in ancient Hebrew war poetry (cf supra p 53).

Heilsgeschichte

In Second Maccabees several references to Heilsgeschichte appear as an integral part of the author's presentation of the revolt.

Prior to the attack on the strongly fortified town of Caspin, Judas and his men invoke the God "who demolished the walls of Jericho without battering-rams or siege engines" (2 M 12.15 : Josh 6.1-20).

A slight echo of David's words to Goliath may be discerned in the disparagement of the enemy who trusts in armed might (2 M 8.18; cf 1 Sam 17.45,47).

The Sennacherib episode is recalled twice (2 M 8.19; 15.22 : 2 K 19.35). W.R. Farmer notes the importance of the Sennacherib story for the authors of First and Second Maccabees (452).

In his summary statement on the Maccabean Revolt, R. de Vaux asserts that the Heilsgeschichte allusions in First and Second Maccabees refer to the crossing of the Sea and to Sennacherib, "but never to the holy wars of the Conquest and the period of the Judges" (453).

Apart from the obvious omission by de Vaux of the reference to the Battle of Jericho (2 M 12.15), the references to David and Goliath (1 M 4.30; cf 2 M 8.18) and to Jonathan's attack on the Philistine outpost (1 M 4.30) embody significant holy war motifs. Moreover, both the crossing of the Sea and the Sennacherib story may be considered to belong to the tradition-history of holy war. It seems clear from the evidence that the writers are acutely aware not only of the historical importance of Yahweh's saving acts, but also of the theological implications of these events for their own period.

/Battle-cries

Battle-cries

Some indication of the warrior's faith in divine intervention may be seen in the formal battle-cries : "help of God" (2 M 8.23; cf the memorial stone, 1 Sam 7.12) and "victory of God" (2 M 13.15).

Although instances of the stereotyped battle-cry are not numerous here, the extensive use of inscriptions on the trumpets and battle-standards described in the Qumran war scroll may show the subsequent development of the Maccabaeen battle-cries (454).

Battle-cries of a different nature were also used by the Maccabaeen warriors. These do not seem to be simply revivals of the ancient Yahweh slogans. They present in fact a new cultic-liturgical development — the ancient battle-shout has become a battle-hymn. Thus, we read that Judas leads his men into battle "singing hymns as battle-cries" (2 M 12.37). 1 Maccabees 5.33 may also be mentioned as a case in point. Following the sounding of the trumpets, the battle-cry takes the form of shouted prayers.

In 2 Maccabees 15.25-26 a notable contrast is drawn between the trumpets and war songs of the enemy and the invocations and prayers with which Judas and his men join battle.

This cultic-liturgical emphasis occupies a prominent place in the Chronicler's presentation of holy war. With 2 Maccabees 12.37, therefore, we may compare the role of the male cultic singers whom Jehoshaphat appointed to precede the army singing praise to God (2 Chr 20.21) (455). Significantly, the writer of Second Maccabees, as well as taking up this liturgical tradition, also follows the Chronicler in placing special emphasis on the miraculous intervention of God (cf supra p 116).

Liturgical accompaniments to war will be noted also in connection with the conclusion of battle (infra pp 124f).

Human participation in battle

Along with the spiritual elaboration of the war tradition in Second Maccabees we must include references to the type of "secular" presentation of human activity which we have noted in First Maccabees (cf supra p 114 & note (445)).

The reality and intensity of human warrior action are clearly evident in several passages (cf 2 M 8.6,30; 10.16f,35f; 11.11; 12.6 & passim; 13.15).

Reference is also made to the nobility and heroism of the Hasmonaeans and their warriors (cf 2 M 8.21; 12.42; 14.18). In this connection, a new feature in Second Maccabees is the adulation of the martyr (cf 6.23,27f,30f; 7.2,5; 14.41f).

A secular tone is apparent in some of the speeches inciting warriors to battle. Judas urges his followers to "fight nobly" (8.16); his words make them ready to die for their laws and their country. Judas calls the faithful to share his danger and come to the help of their brethren (11.7; cf 13.12). Again, he charges his troops to fight bravely to the death for the Law, the Temple and Jerusalem, for their country and their way of life (13.14). According to 15.17, the eloquence of Judas persuaded the Jews "to take the offensive manfully and fight hand to hand with all their strength until the issue was decided".

It must be noted, however, that in all these passages the context indicates that human activity and the concept of divine help are closely associated.

Thus, in 2 Maccabees 8.24 we read :

"The Almighty fought on their side and they slaughtered over nine thousand of the enemy...."

We may compare the concise statement in 12.11 :

"A violent combat ensued in which by divine help Judas and his men were victorious".

In similar vein our author informs us :

".... for the Jews, success and victory were guaranteed not only because of their bravery but even more because the Lord was their refuge...." (10.28).

The whole concept of the battle action is well summed up in 15.26f :

"Judas and his men joined battle with invocations and prayers. Fighting with their hands and praying to God in their hearts, they killed no fewer than thirty-five thousand men, and were greatly cheered by the divine manifestation".

It may therefore be concluded that the author of Second Maccabees (as, indeed, the author of the First) is able to bring together the two distinctive (456) but equally valid aspects of the holy war tradition, namely, divine intervention or help and intense human participation, without any sign of contradiction and without any sense of paradox.

Conclusion of battle (First and Second Maccabees)

No reference is made in the Maccabaeen narratives to regulations or ritual connected with the conclusion of battle or the return of warriors to camp (457).

Warrior purification referred to in 2 Maccabees 12.38 is related specifically to preparation for Sabbath, and this is carried out "according to custom", not "according to the Law". Abel infers that part of the reason for leaving the dead unburied was the fear of defilement on the part of those who had purified themselves in order to keep the Sabbath (458).

Another isolated incident (1 M 5.54) indicates that burnt-offerings were made after the battle of Ephron. The context, however, is that of thanksgiving and jubilation rather than that of purificatory rites. There is some Old Testament evidence to show that sacrifices were made and monuments erected to celebrate and commemorate victory (cf supra p 32).

Herem and the "snare" of idolatry

Evidence of the revival of the ancient practice of herem has already been noted in connection with certain Maccabaeen campaigns (cf supra p 106). Significant for the thought-background of the Maccabaeen Revolt is the fact that herem is carried out not only in accordance with ancient holy war practice, but also in line with the theological standpoint of the Deuteronomist who sees as the reason for herem the eradication of idolatry and the avoidance of religious contamination (cf Dt 7.2ff, 16, 24ff; 12.29ff; 13.12-18; 20.16-18).

The Deuteronomistic writers characteristically describe the idolatrous cult of heathen gods as a "snare" for Israel (459).

According to 1 Maccabees 1.35 the presence of a foreign garrison, and no doubt Jewish renegades also, in the Acra constituted for the faithful "a great snare" (μεγάλη παγίς). As well as the obvious military and strategic sense, we may suggest here a moralistic and theological connotation for the term "snare", corresponding, therefore, to its use in the Deuteronomistic writings.

1 Maccabees 14.36 indicates that the Acra troops were regarded as a source of cultic pollution insofar as they are described as having made sorties defiling the Temple precincts and violating its purity (cf 1 M 1.37) (460).

That the pagans and renegades constituted a cultic hazard for Judaism

is also apparent in the deliberate and systematic destruction of pagan altars, sanctuaries, and objects of worship (cf supra pp 106f). This destruction, which is an integral feature of Maccabaeen warfare, is characteristic also of the Deuteronomistic presentation of the conquest of the land (cf Ex 23.24; 34.13; Dt 7.5f,25; 12.2ff) (461).

Another instructive Maccabaeen passage may be cited here.

According to 1 Maccabees 5.4, the Baeenites were "a snare and a stumbling-block" to the Jews (παγίς καὶ σκάνδαλον), and, significantly, they are consigned to total herem (v 5; (462)).

Booty

One notable departure from the ancient holy war practice concerns the disposal of the spoil. War-booty loses its cultic meaning, and is no longer considered to be the exclusive possession of the deity. For the Maccabees, to the victor indeed belongs the spoil (cf 1 M 4.17f,23; 5.3; 7.47; 10.87; 11.48,51).

A unique reference is presented in Second Maccabees. According to 2 M 8.28,30, part of the spoil is distributed among "victims of the persecution, widows and orphans, and the aged", the remainder is shared out to the warriors. This division of the spoil between the troops and the people corresponds to the regulation laid down in Numbers 31.27 (cf supra p 31 & note (155)).

Celebration of victory

The most notable post-battle feature of the Maccabaeen wars is the jubilant celebration of victory. Both First and Second Maccabees present evidence of a distinctly liturgical emphasis in their descriptions of post-battle ceremonies. This emphasis has been noted even in the course of battle itself (supra p 121).

For the Maccabees, the victory song is essentially a song of thanksgiving to God sung by the warriors themselves. Thus, in 1 Maccabees 4.24 we find the simple statement:

"On their way back they sang songs of thanksgiving, praising Heaven...."

In verse 33 of the same chapter Judas' prayer before battle anticipates victory hymns of thanksgiving.

After the complete destruction of Ephron Judas and his men return jubilant to Mount Sion and offer burnt-offerings (1 M 5.54).

Simon, after the successful siege of Gazara, expels the inhabitants,

purifies the houses, and enters "with songs of thanksgiving and praise" (1 M 13.47).

A more detailed description is provided of Simon's entry into the purified Citadel of Jerusalem. In addition to the hymns of thanksgiving, mention is made of the use of musical instruments and the waving of palm branches (1 M 13.51). Musical instruments also accompany the public thanksgiving at the rededication of the Temple (1 M 4.54ff) (463).

Brief references are found in Second Maccabees to the celebration of victory (2 M 8.27,33).

After the capture of Gazara it is noted more specifically that the Jews "praised with hymns and thanksgivings the Lord....who had given them victory" (2 M 10.38).

In 2 Maccabees 15.28-29 the spontaneous shouts of praise of the warriors are distinguished from the later public rejoicing (v 34; cf 1 M 7.48).

Practically no reference is made to the content of the hymns of thanksgiving (although examples of lament are found, cf supra p 84).

A possible exception is the reference to a refrain from a Psalm :

"....for His mercy endures forever" (1 M 4.24 : Ps 118.1-4,29; 136 passim; note also 2 Chr 20.21).

In form and content the eulogy on Judas (1 M 3.3-9) presents features of war poetry, but by its very nature it is not a hymn of praise to God for victory.

The substance of some of the pre-battle prayers and addresses (especially with reference to Yahweh's saving acts in Israelite history) may well have been incorporated in Maccabaeen songs of thanksgiving for victory.

The emphasis on prayer and praise in First and Second Maccabees is a definite link with the Chronicler's unique contribution to the tradition-history of holy war. In his work, in keeping with the predominant idea that "the battle is the Lord's", the human part is to "stand still and see the deliverance of Yahweh" (2 Chr 20.15,17). This in itself implies not only the acknowledgment in faith of Yahweh's saving act, but also a response in praise and thanksgiving (464).

PART THREE

THE QUMRAN BATTLE SCROLL AND THE TRADITION HISTORY OF HOLY WAR

Introductory statement

Our purpose now is to examine the content of 1 QM in the light of the tradition-history of holy war. It is hoped to demonstrate conclusively that predominant motifs and concepts of the holy war tradition, as well as significant aspects of ancient holy war practice, are to be found throughout the War Scroll.

Evidence of substantial development, extension and elaboration of the tradition-material will be observed, thus indicating that the Scroll represents not merely a literary borrowing from Old Testament sources or a literary revival of the ancient war tradition.

In several notable features, the Scroll, through its characteristic emphasis, will be seen to make its own unique and valuable contribution, indeed, a new dimension, to the tradition-history of holy war.

I Character of the 1 QM army : evidence of ancient war procedure.

Conscription and mobilisation

An important insight into the structure of the army is presented in 1 QM 2.6b-8a, 10a. In keeping with the nationalistic tone of this column we find here a militia army formed on the basis of tribal conscription and mobilised as required according to a system of annual levies, the tribal chiefs being responsible for mobilising these. Y. Yadin argues convincingly that a similar system was used by King David to recruit his militia (cf 1 Chr 27.1-15) (465). David's military census (2 Sam 24) gives further support to this argument. Yadin moreover sees in the term בְּחֹרָה (1 QM 2.7 "choose") an indication of units selected for battle from the total number of men conscripted for military service (466).

According to Yadin's translation of 1 QM 2.9b ("for six years the congregation shall wage it together"), a different structure and composition would seem to be envisaged for the army, namely, total mobilisation. This might well be compared with the mustering of

"all Israel" in times of military crisis during the Monarchy (cf supra pp 67f). However this is not necessarily the meaning of the passage in the Scroll. The crux of the interpretation is in the translation of the verb **סרך**. Elsewhere in the Scroll **סרך** means to "arrange", "prepare" (467) and this corresponds to Old Testament usage — especially with reference to setting troops in order prior to battle (468). If this is a possible interpretation of the verb in 1 QM 2.9b, an entirely different situation is presented, and one which renders unnecessary Yadin's distinction (based rather on Rabbinic thinking) between a war of obligation and a war of free choice (469). Thus, J. van der Ploeg translates :

"Dans les trente-cinq années de service, la guerre sera préparée pendant six ans, et toute la communauté la préparera ensemble". (470)

In terms of a forty-year war, six years might not seem unreasonable for the preparation of equipment and provisions and especially for the organisation of conscription.

The Scroll provides several examples of Old Testament conscriptional terminology.

The verb **ספר** (literally, "to number"), which is extensively used in the census lists of the Book of Numbers (cf Nu 1-2; 26), is found with reference to military men in 1 QM 2.4,15; 12.4,7; 19.12, and possibly 15.15 (reading **ספרו**). Note also 13.10 where the term is applied to the commissioning of the Prince of Light. The general translation "muster" (Yadin : 12.4,7) does not entirely convey the technical significance of the term. **ספר**, as E.A. Speiser has pointed out (471), means not merely to "number" but to "enrol" (cf **ספר**: "census", 2 Sam 24.9). The reference is, therefore, to enrolled or enlisted men. Again, Yadin's rendering of the form **ספרו** by "their subordinates" (1 QM 2.4,15; 19.12), hardly conveys the real connotation. This form (pointed **ספרו**) occurs frequently in the Old Testament census lists (e.g. Nu 1.21 & passim).

The cultic implications of the ancient military census (cf again Speiser's article and 2 Sam 24) are not specifically indicated in the Scroll, but it is significant, as we shall see later, that the warriors are strictly bound by regulations for cultic purity.

The idea of mobilisation is more clearly conveyed by the verb **קנח** (1 QM 2.7,8). The verb is used especially in the Book of Numbers (472) as a technical expression for military "call-up" (thus, NEB "draft" rather than AV "arm").

Closely connected with the verb לָחָם , and indicative of the purpose of mobilisation, is the phrase לָחָם לַחַיִּים (1 QM 2.8), meaning "to go forth to (active) service". We may compare the frequent use of the phrase לָחָם לַחַיִּים in the census lists of the Book of Numbers (Nu 1 passim; 26.2; also 1 Chr 12.33,36). Note also the combination $\text{לָחָם לַחַיִּים לְמִלְחָמָה}$ in Numbers 31.5 (NEB "drafted for active service"). F.-M. Abel (473) sees in the phrase $\text{ἐκπορευόμενοι εἰς πόλεμον}$ (1 M 3.13 — referring to the forces mustered by Judas Maccabaeus), a technical expression equivalent to the Hebrew לָחָם לַחַיִּים of Numbers 31.36 (cf Nu 31.27).

Elsewhere in the Scroll the verb לָחָם is frequently used, especially to express the advance into battle (474), and the plural of the substantive לָחָם denotes the battle hosts human and heavenly (475).

In 1 QM 3.3,12 we possibly have a unique use of the term חַיִּים in the sense of a company or unit of the army. Yadin ^scontrues the term as referring to the militia formations of the congregation, and considers its basic meaning to be the act of "tying" or "joining" (476). The application of the term to the "stations" of the stars is attested in 4 Q Enoch and in 1 QS (477). In his discussion of the word, Z. Ben Hayyim notes in particular that in Samaritan Aramaic the root חַיִּים translates the Hebrew חַיִּים (478). A significant use of the verb חַיִּים occurs in Numbers 31.5, where the reference is to the mobilisation of militia units on the basis of tribal quotas.

Yadin discusses the meaning of the verb חַיִּים (literally, to "bind" or "tie") in relation to the composition of the battle "front formation" (1 QM 5.3), and, noting a similar use of the verb in 1 Kings 20.14 and 2 Chronicles 13.3, considers it to be a technical term for drawing up units in battle order (479).

The list of battle standards (1 QM 4.1-5) provides evidence of the arrangement of the fighting units in groups of thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens. According to Exodus 18.21,25 and Deuteronomy 1.15 this grouping was devised for the judicial administration of ancient Israel. However, as M. Noth points out (480), this system derives not from judicial ideas but from the organisation of the military levy. That this structure was an integral part of the Qumran tradition is seen from the fact that the sectarian community is organised in this way (1 QS 2.21f; CD 13.1f; 1 QSa 1.14,29 - 2.1).

Tactics and practice


The strategy, evident in the Old Testament (481), of engaging and disrupting the enemy's line by means of a relatively small force and keeping the main body of the army for the pursuit and final rout of the enemy, may possibly be part of the battle tactics outlined in 1 QM 2-9. Here the battle is to be fought essentially by successive assaults of "skirmishing" units operating through the lines of the heavier (front) infantry (cf 5.3-4,15-end; 6.1-6; 7.14 - 9.4a). The purpose of the skirmishers is explicitly stated: they are to "vanquish the enemy's line" (6.5b-6a). The fighting is to continue until the enemy is thrown into disorder (thus, 9.2). It is at this point that the main force joins battle to take up the pursuit with a view to the final annihilation of the enemy (9.4b-7a).

In the presentation of the war in Col. 1,15-19 the same situation is indicated, although with less attention to military details. Here only the skirmishers fight (1.14; 16.3-12; 17.10-end).

In 18.2,11 there is the same emphasis on pursuit — and, significantly, in the context of total annihilation of the enemy.

Perhaps it is in connection with this kind of strategy that the Scroll envisages the use of ambush tactics (cf 9.17; note also the specific mention of ambush trumpets, 3.2,8).

It is certainly significant that behind the elaborate details of an apparently vast and well-equipped army there should appear for the actual fighting a simple and (traditionally) more primitive battle-strategy.

The use of the term , as a substantive (9.7) and as a verb (18.5), may reflect the ancient holy war concept of herem.

Here the reference to a sacral rite is not so explicit as in the Old Testament, yet the complete destruction of the enemy denoted by the term is significant for the character of the war depicted in the Scroll. Moreover, similar terms indicate that the motif of complete annihilation of the enemy is an essential concept for the Scroll (482).

In keeping with the ancient tradition of herem, and with the idea of divine sanction basic to its practice, we may compare 1 QM 17.2. Here a reference to the fate of the sons of Aaron (Lev 10.1-3) is interpreted in a particular way, namely, in the sense that through His judgment on them God "sanctified Himself" — in the Biblical passage the reference to God sanctifying Himself (v 3) and the

reference to the judgment on Aaron's sons (vv 1-2) are quite separate.

In common with the presentation of the wars in First and Second Maccabees the Scroll gives no indication of the ancient holy war practice of consigning the war booty to the deity. On the other hand, a definite interest in the spoil is apparent in the Scroll and this sheds some light on the character of the war. Thus, Col. 7 indicates that the army has a special service-corps responsible for stripping the slain and collecting booty (7.2) (483). The existence of this special detachment of the youngest service-men may be regarded as a link with the legislation for the division of spoil in Numbers 31.27 (note especially v 50 *ibid.*, and David's similar ruling, 1 Sam 30.22-25).

In 1 QM 13.1-6 we find brief but significant references to a priestly rubric for cursing Belial and the spirits of his lot. The probability of a revival of the ancient practice of cursing the enemy before battle is discussed in the context of war address (*infra* pp 167-170).

Trumpets

A notable feature of the War Scroll is the elaborate system of war trumpets. Lists of trumpets, trumpet inscriptions, and descriptions of the use of trumpets in battle, show considerable variation, duplication, and development. In the matter of trumpet practice, however, the literary strata reflect a remarkably uniform tradition of usage (*vide* Table A : Qumran trumpets and signals, *infra* pp 138f). Since it is reasonable to suppose that the elaborate trumpet system of the Scroll had some basis in historical practice, our main interest is in the historical origins of the tradition of tactical trumpet signals (484).

The Old Testament provides two spheres of influence which have an important bearing on the origins of the Qumran trumpets. These are, the priestly (אִירָצִינִי) tradition (mainly, Nu 10.1-10), and the ancient Hebrew war tradition in which the battle-horn (רֶפָּח) and associated battle-shout are prominent features.

Various practical aspects of the trumpet system of the Scroll may be traced back to the influence of the Book of Numbers (485).

In the Scroll, the war trumpets (the priestly אִירָצִינִי of the Old

Testament) are essentially cultic instruments, and, therefore, remain in the hands of the (Aaronite) priests as commanded in Numbers 10.8 (cf 1 QM 7.8b-9a, 11b-12). At the same time, and perhaps to a greater extent, we may see the priestly use of trumpets in the Scroll as due to the overall emphasis on, and development of the war role of the priests in 1 QM.

With reference to the use of the ceremonial trumpets in time of war, Numbers 10.9 indicates the precise meaning of the trumpet-call. It is to :

"serve as a reminder on your behalf before Yahweh your God, and you will be delivered from your enemies".

This theological significance is certainly intended in those Scroll trumpets which are specifically called "trumpets of remembrance" (] 17414n, 1 QM 7.12; 16.2-3; 18.3-4) (486).

An allusion to the same concept may be observed in the inscription on the trumpets for summoning the skirmishers :

"Vengeful remembrance at the appointed time of God" (3.7).

Even more obvious is the quotation of Numbers 10.9 in the officers' address of encouragement (1 QM 10.6b-8a).

We may suggest, therefore, that although in the Scroll the main purpose of the trumpets is to give tactical signals, in the trumpets of remembrance an echo remains of an older cultic and theological tradition.

Noteworthy also in the presentation of Numbers 10.1-10 is the considerable emphasis on the use of the trumpets for various aspects of summoning (vv 2,3,4,7). Similarly, in the Scroll, signals for summoning form a necessary part of the battle preliminaries and feature in the battle procedure itself (vide Table A, infra p 138f).

Furthermore, Numbers 10.2(end) indicates that the trumpets are to be sounded for breaking (מסג) camp. Significantly, the same term recurs in 1 QM 3.6 in a phrase specifying a signal of the camp trumpets (מסג' 17414n).

Specific use of the ceremonial trumpets by priests in the context of battle is indicated in the battle narrative of 2 Chronicles 13.12,14 (cf supra p 26).

Another indication of a primitive tradition of war practice may be discerned in the Scroll's use of the term '7' ("hands") to denote battle signals (487). The literary usage may be a link with the ancient practice of giving battle signals by some movement of the hand, an outstanding example of which occurs in Joshua 8.18,19

(cf also the rod of Yahweh in the hand of Moses, Ex 17.9,11f).

Indication of an earlier tradition may also be evident in the reference to "ambush trumpets" (אֲרָמָה אֲרָמָה, 1 QM 3.1-2). As noted above (p 129), ambush tactics, or perhaps some kind of outflanking movement, may have been employed in connection with the pursuit and final rout of the enemy. In the description of the actual battle, however, (cols. 15-19) there is no reference to an ambush taking place — this is not entirely surprising considering the eschatological emphasis in this part of the Scroll.

Ambush and other surprise tactics are a necessary part of guerilla warfare and as such are evident in certain Old Testament contexts (488). Although the evidence in the Scroll is slight, it may nevertheless be suggested that the ambush trumpets (and one brief mention of ambush, 9.17) point to a more primitive battle procedure and an army less well organised and equipped.

A more direct link with the war tradition of ancient Israel is apparent in the use of ram's horn trumpets (שופרות ה'רם, 1 QM 7.14; cf Josh 6.4,5) in conjunction with the priestly אֲרָמָה at a particular stage of the battle. This is highly significant, especially in view of the predominant role of the priests in battle and the exclusive use of the priestly trumpets for signalling. Several features deserve comment.

Unlike the אֲרָמָה, the horns have neither names nor inscriptions. This, as well as their use in battle, is an indication of their primitive origin.

Whereas throughout the Scroll the priests have sole charge of the signalling trumpets, the horns belong to a special unit or detachment of the army. Although 1 QM 7.3 refers to seven Levites with horns (cf Josh 6.4), the other passages refer consistently to "the Levites and all the band (בָּנִי) of horn-blowers" (8.9; 16.6-7; 17.13). A considerable number (and not necessarily all Levites (489)) is implied. We may compare Judges 7.16,18,20,22 where Gideon's three hundred picked warriors are all provided with horns. The abbreviated reference in 1 QM 8.15 (albeit a textual restoration) seems to indicate a combination of function on the part of "the priests, and the Levites and the whole band of horn-blowers", while 16.8 and 17.14 refer simply to the horn-blowers as "all the people (בָּנִי)".

The tactical importance of the horns is seen in the fact that they are employed in the critical opening phase of the fighting (1 QM

8.9-11a, 15, 19-20; 16.6b-7; 17.13-14a). Although they are used in conjunction with the priestly trumpets and come into action after a trumpet signal, the horns do not merely duplicate the function of the trumpets, they have their own special use. The primary purpose of the horn-blowing is to "melt the heart of the enemy" (8.10). It might also be argued that the horns serve to some extent as a signal for the initial assault — the sounding of the horns is certainly intended to coincide with the throwing of the javelins. In his commentary note on 8.9-11 Yadin assumes that the trumpets of the priests give the signal both for the horn-blowing and the throwing of the javelins. The texts seems rather to indicate that the fanfare (and only the horn-blowers have sounded a fanfare here) is the signal for the javelins to be thrown (cf similarly, 16.7; 17.13-14). We may compare 8.15 where apparently a combined fanfare "to direct the fighting" is sounded by "the priests and the Levites and the whole band of horn-blowers".

There is some division of opinion as to whether the horns sound only at the beginning of the assault or continue throughout the action. Three instances indicate that the horns cease while the trumpets continue to give signals (9.1; 16.8; using the verb **יָשַׁח**, and 17.14; using a synonym **יָחַח**). The division of opinion arises in regard to the passage in 8.11b, where Yadin reads **יָחַח** from the verb **יָשַׁח**, to "silence" or "cease", and J. van der Ploeg and others read **יָשַׁח** as the Hiph'il of **יָשַׁח**, to "accelerate", "speed up" (490). The relevant points for our position, however, are that the horn-blowing does coincide at least with the initial phase of battle, and the function of the horns is to dishearten the enemy.

The combined use of trumpets and horns is a feature peculiar to the Scroll. In the Old Testament battle narratives we do not find trumpets and horns used in conjunction with each other. (In the majority of Old Testament instances the horn is used in battle; in a few cases — e.g. Nu 31.6; 2 Chr 12.14; Hos 5.8 — the trumpet is used). Moreover, according to S.B. Finesinger, there is some evidence in the Old Testament to suggest that the **יָשַׁח** may have been intended to replace the ancient **יָשַׁח** (491). If this is the case, then the inclusion of horns in the battle narratives of the Scroll is even more significant: their distinctive use in battle would in fact represent a deliberate revival of the authentic battle-practice of the ancient war tradition.

It is important to note that there are a few Old Testament references

to the use of the ram's horn as a signalling trumpet.

In several episodes the ancient רָצִיף is sounded to summon the battle levy (vide supra p 26). An isolated reference in Nehemiah 4.14 (EVV 20) indicates that the רָצִיף is to sound battle-stations at the walls of Jerusalem. Again, the רָצִיף is used to signal the breaking off of pursuit (2 Sam 2.28; 18.16) and the withdrawal of troops (2 Sam 20.22).

These instances, although few in number, present important evidence of the use of tactical trumpet signals by early Hebrew armies. Significantly, in the Scroll these basic signals are among those to be sounded by the לִרְצִיף (vide Table A, infra pp 138f).

In connection with signalling, we may also draw attention to the Scroll banners and their inscriptions. Behind the intricate details of the inscriptions we may detect a primitive and practical use of banners for pre-battle assembly and for the battle movement of the various units and formations. It is significant that the basic battle-sequence is presented in two series of banner inscriptions. Thus, 1 QM 4.6a,7a,8a and 4.9a,11b,13a indicate the use of the banners specifically: "when they go forth to battle", "when they close in for battle", and, "when they return from battle". The implication is that banners, presumably in conjunction with the trumpets (492), played a role in the system of signalling, serving as rallying and regrouping points and indicating especially the direction of movement of the designated units.

(For Scroll inscriptions, vide note (653), & infra p 213 Table C).

Battle shout

The importance of noise as a disruptive and demoralising factor in battle leads us to consider the meaning of the term לַרְעָה which appears frequently in the Scroll in close association with trumpets and horns. The precise interpretation of this association is also important, for here we may discern a possible link with the ancient war tradition. Old Testament usage indicates that horn or trumpet are closely connected with the battle shout, and also that the term לַרְעָה applies to the battle shout as well as to the sound of the trumpet (cf supra pp 27f).

In the traditional account of the Battle of Jericho seven priests are to sound rams' horns and the whole army is to raise the "shout" (Josh 6.5,16,20). Similarly, the battle-cry of Gideon's warriors is preceded by the sounding of the horns (Ju 7.18,20).

Horn and battle-shout are also associated in Jeremiah 4.19 and Amos 2.2, and in Zephaniah's description of the Day of Yahweh as "a day of horn and shout" (Zeph 1.16). That the sound of the horn was in fact the signal for the shout is clear from Joshua 6.5,20 (cf v 16) and Judges 7.18,20. Other passages imply that this is the case (e.g. Nu 31.6 cf 10.9; 2 Chr 13.12). Further, in Numbers 10.5,6

תְּרוּעָה may be interpreted as "shout" (thus NEB). This is again suggested by the clear distinction between trumpet-call and shout in Numbers 10.7.

In addition, it is important to note definite references in our sources to "the great shout". With תְּרוּעָה גְדוֹלָה (Josh 6.5,20) and גְּדוֹלָה קוֹל (2 Chr 20.19 -- without reference to trumpets), we may compare the following phrases with reference to the horn-blowers' tərūcā in 1 QM:

קוֹל אֶחָד תְּרוּעַת גַּלְחָגָה גְדוֹלָה 8.10

קוֹל תְּרוּעָה גְדוֹלָה 8.15

; [תְּרוּעָה] קוֹל גְּדוֹלָה 16.7

note also, without reference to trumpets or horns:

בְּקוֹל הַגּוֹן גְּדוֹלָה וְתְרוּעַת אֲלִים וְאִנְשִׁים 1.11

With reference to the battle-shout, the phrase תְּרוּעָה גַּלְחָגָה is found in Jeremiah 4.19(end); 49.2a; cf 1 Samuel 17.20(end);

(note also: Am 1.14b גַּלְחָגָה בְּיוֹם גַּלְחָגָה ; Jer 50.22a

קוֹל גַּלְחָגָה). The tərūcā associated with the horns is similarly designated in 1 QM 8.10; 17.13; (and restored text 16.7).

It might of course be argued that in these Scroll references we merely have linguistic similarities with the Old Testament. If, however, we have been correct in thinking that certain practical features of the Scroll's portrayal of battle have their ultimate origin in the ancient tradition of holy war, we may be justified in suggesting a possible link between the battle tərūcā of the Scroll (especially in view of its close association with the horn-blowing) and the battle-shout of the old tradition.

We note now that one of the Scroll trumpets is specifically designated חֲצוֹצְרוֹת הַתְּרוּעָה (7.12). Significantly, these are trumpets for sounding the attack --- note the extended phrase in 3.1:

חֲצוֹצְרוֹת תְּרוּעוֹת הַחֲלָיִים --- and this is the very point in battle at which one would most expect shouting and battle-cries.

The construction of the phrases which describe the trumpets is noteworthy. In many cases the second member of the phrase indicates the action which is to follow the trumpet signal. Thus we might translate for example חֲצוֹצְרוֹת הַגְּרִירָה (7.12) as "the trumpets for signalling pursuit". If it is possible to interpret the phrase

חֲצוֹצְרוֹת הַתְּרוּעָה in this way, and so translate: "the trumpets

for signalling terū^cā ", then terū^cā would not refer to the sound of the trumpets (i.e. "fanfare", "alarm") but to the action signalled, namely, the battle-shout. Moreover, in this connection, attention must be drawn to two clear instances of the use of the term הַרְוֵה without reference to trumpets and meaning "shouting". Thus, in 1.11 we read that the eschatological battle will be fought

"with the sound of a great tumult and the war-cry (הַרְוֵה)
of angels and men"

(possibly repeated in line 17), and in 18.2 we find the reference:

".... shouting (הַרְוֵה) of the holy ones in pursuit
of Asshur".

It is also relevant to observe that much of the literary material incorporated into the numerous inscriptions on trumpets, banners, and weapons, could well have served as battle-cries. This is especially so in respect of the stereotyped two-word inscription, the second term of which is always לח (493).

Again, the considerable emphasis which the Scroll places on vividly descriptive inscriptions leads us to suppose that these are more than mere literary embellishments. They may well have their origin, and certainly their raison d'être, in the practice and theory of the ancient holy war tradition, insofar as they reflect not only the typical battle-cry but also the recurring themes and motifs of encouragement speeches. It may even be suggested that the practical purpose of the Scroll inscriptions was to furnish the warriors with battle-cries and slogans appropriate to the different phases and contingencies of battle. In this connection, Yadin sees the banner inscriptions as "fighting slogans" to encourage the warriors and to remind them that the war was a "war of God" (494).

Emphasis on real fighting

A unique feature of the Scroll is the deliberate presentation of the active role of the human warrior.

Evidence for this is apparent in detailed descriptions of the composition of army units, weapons, methods of tactical deployment and practical battle strategy (cf 1 QM 3.1 - 6.16; 7.8 - 9.18; 16.2-12; 17.10-17; 18.3b-5a).

Furthermore, the designation of the warriors as לחי (1 QM 2.8; 6.12), לחי (2.7; 9.5), לחי (2.6; 3.4), and especially לחי (10.6; also (sing.) of Goliath, 11.1) and

הַמִּלְחָמָה (12.16), is reminiscent of Old Testament war terminology and may provide a linguistic link with the ancient holy war tradition (495).

More specifically, the War Scroll provides considerable evidence of real fighting.

The operations of the skirmishers are described in detail (e.g. 7.14-end; 8.4-17; 9.1-4a; 16.3-8; 17.12-15). The human task is especially to pursue and destroy the enemy (9.4b-7a; 18.11).

The battle is described as a "mighty encounter and carnage" (1.9; cf 1.13). At its finish, garments will be covered with blood (14.2-3).

The military engagements of the Sons of Light are indicated in 1.1-4a; note also the belligerent character of the forty year war, 2.9b-14. Moreover, there will be temporary defeats for the Sons of Light (1.13; 17.16). They will suffer casualties (16.9,13; 17.16). Their hearts will "melt" (1.14).

The realistic emphasis on all these features in the Scroll may in part reflect the positive evidence of human warrior activity which is presented mainly in the earliest strands of the holy war tradition (vide supra pp 60f). Whereas, however, in the Old Testament idealised war narratives, in the prophetic (sc. oracles against the nations and Day of Yahweh) and apocalyptic presentation of holy war, and, supremely, in 2 Chronicles 20, human warriors are assigned a passive role vis-à-vis the exclusive activity of Yahweh, the War Scroll presents a unique feature in that here the Sons of Light are closely associated with the cosmic armies (vide infra pp 172,187f) in God's great eschatological battle.

M O B I L I S A T I O N	חצוצרות הקרא trumpets for summoning cultic levy (העדה), commanders, chiefs, units 2.15-16	ח' בקרא העדה (cultic levy) ח' בקרא השרים (commanders) ח' המסורות (formations) ח' אנשי השם (men of renown, chiefs) 3.2b-4a		
		חצוצרות המחנוה (assembly-call) חצוצרות מסעיהם (breaking camp) 3.4b-6a		
B A T T L E S E Q U E N C E	Formation ח' סדרי המלחמה 3.1 SUMMONING battle-arrays, i.e., forming battle-order	ח' סדרי המלחמה 3.6b	ח' סדרי המלחמה 7.17b	
	חצוצרות בקראם 3.1 SUMMONING skirmishers to battle-stations	ח' בקרא אנשי הבנים 3.7	חצוצרות הקרא 7.12a,14,(16) חצוצרות הזכרון 7.12	
	Attack ח' גרועות החללים 3.1b חצוצרות הגרועה 2.15	חצוצרות החללים 3.8	חצוצרות הגרועה 7.12	
	Ambush חצוצרות המארב 3.1b-2a	חצוצרות המארב 3.8b		
	Pursuit חצוצרות הגרדף 3.2	חצוצרות הגרדף 3.10	חצוצרות הגרדף 7.12	
	Withdrawal חצוצרות המאסף 3.2	ח' הגשוב + אסף ח' דרך הגשוב 3.10	חצוצרות המאסף 7.12	

<p>חצוצרות המקרא 8.3b, 18a</p> <p>ידי סדר בלחמה 8.5</p> <p>תרועה שנית ידי מפגע 8.7</p>	<p>חצוצרות המקרא 16.10</p> <p>חצוצרות הזכרון 16.2b-3</p> <p>תרועה סדר 16.4a</p> <p>תרועה שנית ידי המקרב 16.4b-5a</p>	<p>יתקעו לסדר 17.10</p> <p>תרועה שנית ידי המקרב 17.11b</p>
<p>חצוצרות החללים 8.8b-9a, (19); 9.1b-2a</p> <p>תרועה בלחמה גדולה 8.10, (20)</p> <p>תרועה גדולה 8.15b</p> <p>ידי בלחמה 8.12</p>	<p>חצוצרות החללים 16.6, 8</p> <p>תרועה בלחמה קול גדול 16.7</p>	<p>חצוצרות החללים 17.12b-13a, 15</p> <p>תרועה בלחמה 17.13</p>
<p>חצוצרות המקרא 9.3</p> <p>חצוצרות הפרדוף 9.6</p>		<p>חצוצרות הזכרון 18.3b-5a</p> <p>תרועה בדרך 18.2a</p> <p>cf</p>
<p>חצוצרות הגשוב 8.2, 13b, 17a</p>	<p>יתקעו לשוב 16.11a</p>	

II Character of the 1 QM army : revival of warrior asceticism.

War regulations

The Qumran War Scroll presents clearly defined regulations for the conduct of holy war. Although the influence of the Deuteronomic war code is apparent, there is a notable development of the Deuteronomic regulations, and a pronounced emphasis on certain aspects of cultic purity which are associated with Levitical purity regulations but which may have their ultimate source and origin in the warrior asceticism of ancient Israel.

The taking up into 1 QM of essential features of the Deuteronomic war code, and the Scroll's unique development of war regulations, are clearly illustrated in a comparison of the key passages :

Deuteronomy 23.10-15 (EVV 9-14) and 1 QM 6.12a - 7.7; 10.1-2 .

Dt 23.10-15

1 QM 6.12b - 7.3a

Age limits for troops

1 QM 7.3b-4a

No young boy and no woman shall enter their encampments when they go forth from Jerusalem to go to battle, until their return.

1 QM 7.4b-5a

Anyone halt or blind or lame, or a man in whose body is a permanent defect, or a man affected by an impurity of his flesh, all these shall not go forth to battle with them.

1 QM 7.5b

All of them shall be volunteers for battle (*אנשי נרוא גיחה*) and sound (*ג'ג'י*) in spirit and flesh, and ready for the day of vengeance.

10 When the host goeth forth against thine enemies, then keep thee from every wicked thing (*אכלך כל רע*).

1 QM 7.6a

11 If there be among you any man that is not clean (*טִמֵּא*) by reason of uncleanness that chanceth him by night, then he shall go abroad out of the camp, he shall not come within the camp:

Any man who is not pure (*טִמֵּא*) with regard to his sexual organs on the day of battle shall not join them in battle, for holy angels are in communion with their hosts.

12 But it shall be, when evening cometh on, he shall wash himself with water: and when the sun is down, he shall come into the camp again.

1 QM 7.6b-7

13 Thou shalt have a place ("hand") also without the camp, whither thou shalt go forth abroad:

There shall be a space between all their camps and the place of the hand, about 2,000 cubits, and no unseemly evil thing (*וְכֹל עֲוֹן לֹבֵד רָע*) shall be seen in the vicinity of their encampments.

14 And thou shalt have a paddle upon thy weapon; and it shall be, when thou wilt ease thyself abroad, thou shalt dig therewith, and shalt turn back and cover that which cometh from thee:

1 QM 10.1-2a

15 For the Lord thy God walketh in the midst of thy camp, to deliver thee, and to give up thine enemies before thee; therefore shall thy camp be holy: that he see no unclean thing (*וְיִרְאֶה אֵין דָּגֵר*) in thee, and turn away from thee.

our camp, and to beware of every unseemly evil thing (*וְכֹל עֲוֹן לֹבֵד רָע*), and who told us that Thou art in our midst, O great and terrible God, to make spoil of all our enemies before us

(For Dt 23.10-15, vide supra pp 39-42)

The passage in the Scroll, from the latter part of Col. 6 to Col. 7.7, is relevant and illuminating.

The passage opens with a unique list of age limits for service and administrative personnel (6.13 & last line; 7.1-3a). The remarkable feature here is the relatively late age for initial enlistment (25 years), and the still later age for actual combat duties (30 years). According to the Pentateuch, twenty years is the age of conscription (Nu 1.3 & passim; 8.24; 14.29; 26.2,4; cf 2 Chr 25.5). Yadin rightly points out, however, that the lower age limit for Levitical service is twenty-five (496). On the other hand, in the fourth chapter of Numbers (vv 2,23,30,35,39,47), the MT sets the lower age limit for the service of the Kohathite priests in the tent of meeting at thirty years. It is possible, therefore, that the distinction in the Scroll between the enlistment age of

twenty-five and the active-service age of thirty is based on Levitical practice (497). The reason for the adoption by a war manual of priestly age limits must lie in the peculiar nature of the envisaged war and especially in the cultic character of the warriors. At the same time, the later age limits for warriors in the Scroll probably also reflect sectarian ideas on the age of maturity — a prime example of which is the unique postponement of marriage until the age of twenty (thus, 1 QSa 1.10 (498)). It is of further significance that the minimum and maximum age limits in 1 QM correspond to the sectarian age limits (for office in the Community) which we find in CD 10.6 (499).

A most informative regulation, and one without equivalent in the Deuteronomic war code, is the exclusion of boys and women from military camps (1 QM 7.3b-4a). It is interesting that of the two categories, "boys" should be mentioned before "women". A more usual expression might for example have been "women and children" (i.e. families), but this obviously is not what the Scroll intends. Yadin supposes that boys are excluded in order to prevent immorality, and cites the relevant laws of Leviticus 18.22; 20.13 (500). The implication is hardly complimentary to the character of the warriors as portrayed in the Scroll. In the context of the Scroll we may consider rather that the reference to boys (especially since it immediately follows the section dealing with age limits) is concerned mainly with their immaturity — that is, they simply did not qualify for battle service. Their very presence, therefore, as indeed the presence of any unqualified person in a cultic situation, would in itself constitute a serious threat to the essentially sacral nature of camp and army.

The exclusion of women has a more direct bearing on the cultic purity of the camp, and is especially significant as an indication of the cultic character of the warriors. Here the time factor is instructive. Boys and women are debarred from military camps "when they go forthto go to battle, until their return". This means in effect that the warriors are separated from women during the whole course of the campaign. In this respect the warriors of the Scroll are bound by the same state of cultic chastity as Uriah the Hittite and David's men (2 Sam 11.8-11; 1 Sam 21.4-5). Here would seem to be a clear indication of the revival of the ancient tradition of warrior asceticism, and significantly — and for the first time — in the form of a definite regulation.

Automatic exclusion from war service is enacted for men who have any permanent physical disability or defect, or, who are affected by any physical impurity (1 QM 7.4b-5a).

Again we note the considerable influence of the concept of cultic purity. Compare in the first instance the permanent physical defects which precluded members of the Aaronite priestly families from holding priestly office (Lev 21.17-23), and in the second case, the general regulations dealing with various kinds of ritual impurity (Lev 13; 15). The deliberate application of such injunctions (especially the regulations for priests) to the military sphere is highly significant for the characterisation of the war and the warriors of the Scroll. Again we must recognise as the reason for the disqualification of the various men listed, not their obvious physical impediments as such, but essentially their permanent state of cultic impurity vis-à-vis war.

At this point in the passage under discussion the Scroll inserts a positive statement with regard to warrior qualification, and one which would seem to confirm much of the argument so far.

Thus, in 7.5b two important statements are made about the character of the warriors :

כֹּלֵם יְהִיוּ אֲנָשִׁי נְדָבָה בְּלֶחֶם וּבְגִי רֵחַ וּבֶשֶׁר

Yadin translates : "All of them shall be volunteers for battle and sound in spirit and flesh". (For the discussion of these statements, vide infra pp 146ff).

With the injunction in 1 QM 7.6 we have the first suggestion of the Deuteronomic war code, and at the same time we pass from permanent exclusion of those unfit for war to temporary disqualification of serving warriors.

Yadin's translation reads :

"Any man who is not pure with regard to his sexual organs (501) on the day of battle shall not join them in battle, for holy angels are in communion with their hosts".

It is important to observe how the Scroll regulation modifies the Deuteronomic law (Dt 23.11-12 (EVV 10-11)). According to the latter, a man who has a nocturnal emission is excluded from the camp for the whole of the following day. The Scroll envisages a different situation, but still based on ritual exclusion : the man who is sexually impure on the day of battle is debarred from fighting — that is, he is in effect confined to camp. That the emphasis is on

the actual battle (and not, as in Deuteronomy, on the purity of the camp) is further apparent in the Scroll's wording of the reason for cultic disqualification, namely, that "holy angels are in communion with their hosts" (i.e. with the fighting men). Contrast Deuteronomy 23.15 : "For the Lord thy God walketh in the midst of thy camp therefore shall thy camp be holy".

On this point we may note further that in 1 QM 10.1, despite the initial mention of the camp (which presumably had its context in the lost part of Col. 9) God is addressed as being "in our midst to make spoil of all our enemies before us". The reference would seem to imply that God is active in battle rather than merely present in camp. It is obvious, therefore, that in 7.6 the Scroll has applied the Deuteronomic regulation for camp purity to the battle situation.

The mention of angels rather than God in 1 QM 7.6 may be influenced by the extensive role of angels in the eschatological battle.

It hardly seems necessary or appropriate to say with Davies that "the revision amounts to no more than the removal of anthropomorphism" (502).

The Scroll passage concludes with a brief reference to camp latrines (7.6b-7; cf the more detailed section in Dt 23.13-15).

Notable links with the corresponding Deuteronomic passage are the term "hand" to designate the place (503), and the phrase :

(7.7b; cf 10.1) וְכֹל עֲרוֹן דָּבָר רַע לֹא יֵרָאֶה

which combines in the main, phrases from Deuteronomy 23.10,15 :

דָּבָר רַע : וְלֹא-יֵרָאֶה : עֲרוֹן דָּבָר

The distinctive feature in the Scroll passage, however, is that it lays down a regulation for the actual distance between camp and latrine. Yadin suggests that the distance (2,000 cubits) may have been taken from Joshua 3.4, where this is the distance to be maintained between the host of Israel and the Ark when they are on the march. Yadin considers that there may also be a connection with the "Sabbath boundary", which, according to Rabbinic Judaism, was 2,000 cubits (504).

The Scroll regulation, however, concerns the ritual purity of the area within the designated limit, namely, the environs of the camp (cf 1 QM 7.7b). This means that the 2,000 cubits represent the minimum requirement for the distance between camp and latrine, and not (as in the case of the Sabbath boundary) the maximum permissible distance. The Scroll regulation, therefore, would seem to be unrelated to the question (for the War Scroll somewhat

hypothetical) of Sabbath boundary. The indication is rather of a purely military regulation, the primary purpose of which is to safeguard the ritual purity of the camp.

With reference to camp purity and warrior defilement, an apparent difficulty arises from the description of the immediate post-battle situation (1 QM 14.2-4).

The first sentence of this passage notes with the utmost brevity :

"After they have withdrawn from the slain towards the encampments they shall all together sing the hymn of return".

The lines which follow clearly indicate the procedure to be carried out on the morning after battle. The warriors wash their clothing and themselves (on account of the defilement incurred through contact with blood and with dead bodies), then return to the place of the original battle positions for the great hymn of praise and thanksgiving.

The difficulty is that the "hymn of return" (line 2) would seem to be sung in a state of ritual impurity (cf Yadin's Commentary, ad loc). J. van der Ploeg's suggestion (505) that the washing referred to was not a ritual washing does not solve the difficulty, since this would then imply that the great hymn of thanksgiving (14.4ff) is also sung in a state of defilement.

Two points may in some measure help to resolve the difficulty.

Firstly, regarding camp purity, it seems necessary to distinguish between the avoidance of various kinds of defilement (in the main physical and sexual) which is the prerequisite of the situation before battle, and the obviously unavoidable defilement (through contact with blood and corpses) which the battle itself entails.

Secondly, in the Old Testament battle narratives there is no indication of any purificatory procedure for warriors returning to camp after battle. Such a ritual is indeed presented in the idealistic legislation of Numbers 31.19-24, but this procedure merely represents the application to warriors of the general rule dealing with defilement through contact with a corpse (Nu 19.11-16; cf ibid 5.1-4), which defilement lasts seven days.

Furthermore, Old Testament passages describing the celebration of victory and the welcome given to returning warriors provide no evidence that the warriors have undergone ritual purification (506). Thus, in the Scroll, as in the Old Testament narratives, the chief and immediate concern after battle is the giving of praise — thus the hymn of return (1 QM 14.2). The ceremony described in 14.2b-3a may well represent a special and distinctive warrior ritual for which

we have no clear evidence elsewhere. Its performance "in the morning" certainly distinguishes it from Levitical purificatory procedure (whereby the defiled person remains unclean "until the evening"), and may, therefore, require to be understood rather as a ritual preparation for the great service of thanksgiving which follows.

Designation of the cultic warrior

An essential quality of the warrior is especially denoted by the use in the Scroll of the term **לָבַב**. Those who are fit for battle are called the "willing-hearted" (**לִבְיָדָי** 10.5). Moreover, it is noteworthy that among the regulations for cultic disqualification (cf supra pp 143f) we find this positive assessment of the cultically fit warrior : **אִנְשֵׁי לָבַב גִּלְחָה** - "all of them shall be volunteers for battle" (7.5b).

Although the Scroll uses substantives (**לָבַב** and **לִבְיָדָי**), the meaning is certainly equivalent to that found in the Old Testament use of the Hithpa'el of the verb **לָבַב**. It is significant that this use of the verb occurs in the Song of Deborah in the context of ancient holy war and along with a phrase which may well be descriptive of the ancient nazirite warriors :

"For those who had flowing locks in Israel, when the people willingly offered themselves, bless Yahweh"

(Ju 5.2; cf ibid v 9; cf supra pp 34f).

Similarly, in the reign of Jehoshaphat, it is said of Amasiah ben Zichri that he "willingly offered himself to Yahweh with two hundred thousand mighty warriors" (2 Chr 17.16).

Mention may also be made of the first phrase of Psalm 110.3 :

"Thy people offered themselves willingly in the day of thy might".

The Old Testament instances (certainly Ju 5.2,9) present an authentic motif of the holy war tradition (507), and it is this same motif that is indicated in the phrases **אִנְשֵׁי לָבַב גִּלְחָה** (1 QM 7.5b) and **לִבְיָדָי** (1 QM 10.5).

It seems important, therefore, to distinguish this original sense (and context) of **לָבַב** from the later application of the term to "freewill offerings" and voluntary service in general (e.g. 1 Chr 29.5,6,9,14,17; Ezr 1.6; 2.68; 3.5; cf Neh 11.2).

Furthermore, the verb **לָבַב** occurs frequently in the Manual of Discipline as a key-word for the sectarians' dedication of themselves

as a community (1 QS 1.2,7,11; 5.1,6,8,10,21,22; 6.3).

Here W.H. Brownlee (followed by H. Kosmala) interprets the term entirely from the idea of "freewill offerings", and apparently sees no distinction for example between Judges 5.2 and Numbers 11.2 (the latter reference being to men volunteering to take up residence in Jerusalem) (508).

Osten-Sacken certainly considers that the motif originates in 1 QM, where, he affirms, it represents the taking up of tradition-elements from the Old Testament holy war tradition. At the same time he notes the possible influence of the motif of "freewill offerings" especially in view of the concept of the community as temple (509). Osten-Sacken's second consideration might seem surprising in view of the fact that he devotes a chapter of his book to a discussion of the influence of the War Scroll concepts and terminology on the theology and organisation of the Qumran Community (510).

Without dismissing the metaphorical use of the idea of "freewill offerings" which we find elsewhere in the Scrolls (e.g. 1 QH 14.24; 1 QS 9.5,24), it may nevertheless be suggested that the primary meaning of 177 (as we have understood it in Ju 5.2 and 1 QM 7.5b) underlies the concept of dedication which is especially prominent in the Manual of Discipline.

1 QM 7.5b provides another indication of the character of the warriors in a phrase describing them as $\text{רשׁוֹן וְרוּחַ אֱלֹהִים}$. Yadin translates: "sound in spirit and flesh".

That the phrase does not mean simply "mentally and physically fit" (or, as we might express it, "sound in wind and limb"), may be understood from the tone and emphasis of the whole passage (7.3b-7). Especially in the unique association of אֱלֹהִים and רשׁוֹן we may have a suggestion of the original cultic connotation of the term

אֱלֹהִים evident in the Old Testament (511). The implication of the whole phrase is that the warriors are in a state of complete consecration and perfect ritual purity. The significant contribution of the War Scroll is that for the first time the concept of cultic fitness (here associated with the term אֱלֹהִים) is applied to warrior qualification.

Elsewhere in the Qumran writings the term אֱלֹהִים is used frequently and consistently to indicate the character of the members of the Community. The concept of "walking perfectly", or "in perfection of way" is particularly frequent (512) and is also evident in 1 QM 14.7. Although similar phraseology is apparent in the Old Testament (513),

the taking up of the concept into the Qumran tradition may have been influenced to a greater extent by the portrayal of the consecrated warrior in 1 QM 7.5b .

III

Moralistic and theological overtones.

In the characterisation of the warriors and of the war itself the Scroll presents definite moralistic and theological overtones which have significant affinities with aspects of the holy war tradition.

Designation of the enemy

A moralistic tone is apparent throughout the Scroll in the characterisation of the enemies. They are consistently described as "wicked" (514). Even in death they are characterised as "sinful slain" (1 QM 3.8; 6.3), "guilty corpses" (14.13), "guilty slain" (6.16).

Similar overtones may be discerned in the epithets "unjust flesh" (4.3) and "guilty flesh" (12.11).

Cultic overtones are evident in the reference to "their works of filthy uncleanness" : $\text{עֲוֹנוֹתָם אֲנִי אֶמְשָׁךְ}$ (13.15; cf "their impure blood" : דָּמָם אִמְשָׁךְ , 9.8).

In the Old Testament אִמְשָׁךְ (subst.) and אִמְשָׁךְ (vb. & adj.) form the essential terminology of levitical uncleanness (e.g. Leviticus, chapters 11, 13, 15 passim), and נִדָּה is used exclusively of the impurity and separation of a menstrual woman (e.g. Lev 12.2, 5; 15 passim). Thus, with the phrase in 1 QM 13.15 we may compare Leviticus 18.19 : $\text{אִמְשָׁךְ אִתָּךְ בְּנִדָּה}$.

For a similar use of the terminology we may note a phrase in the list of vices in the Manual of Discipline :

$\text{וְדַרְכֵי נִדָּה בְּעִוְרוֹתָם אִמְשָׁךְ}$

"ways of pollution in the service of uncleanness" (1 QS 4.10; cf ibid 5.19; 10.24; 11.15).

It is significant (as noted above, pp 143f) that physical uncleanness in the levitical sense (אִמְשָׁךְ וְנִדָּה, 1 QM 7.4-5) and especially sexual impurity (1 QM 7.6) exclude men from the army of Light and from the day of battle.

Several other moralistic epithets serve to distinguish the enemies. In contrast to the Sons of Light, the enemies are Sons of Darkness (1 QM 1.7,10,16; 3.6,9; 13.16; 14.16), they comprise "the lot of darkness" (13.5). Their actions are similarly characterised :

".... in darkness are all their deeds" (15.9).

The enemies are closely linked with the figure of Belial (515). They are his army (1.1,13; 11.8; 15.2-3; cf 18.1), the men of his lot (4.2).

Although the Scroll does not qualify the named nations in any way (1.1b-2a; 2.10b-14), the enemy nations in general are expressly designated "nations of vanity" (4.12; 6.6; 9.9; 11.9).

The characterisation of the enemy as wicked provides a definite link with a significant aspect of the tradition-history of holy war. This element does not appear in the oldest holy war tradition but is developed by the classical prophets, especially in their oracles against foreign nations, and is apparent also in some of the Psalms. (516).

Designation of the faithful

Various epithets in the Scroll confirm the sacral nature of the faithful warriors and especially portray them as a spiritual elite, the elect and chosen people of God, preparing to fulfil their apocalyptic destiny.

A close link with the oldest tradition of holy war may be seen in the designation "people of God" (לעם אלהים , 1.5; 3.13), which is clearly reminiscent of the Old Testament phrase לעם יהוה (517) (Ju 5.11,13; 20.2; 2 Sam 1.12). G. von Rad notes the importance of the term as a designation of the ancient tribal militia (518).

Of special importance in the Scroll is the use of the term גורל . Applied to the enemy as well as to the faithful, it is found in a variety of phrases contrasting the two opposing sides. Thus, we find : "the lot of God" (13.6; 15.1; 17.7; cf "His lot", 1.5); "the lot to be redeemed by Him" (17.6); "the lot of Light" (1.13-14; 13.9); "the lot of Thy truth" (13.12); and, in contrast : "the lot of Belial" (1.5; 4.2; 13.2,4,12); "the lot of darkness" (1.1,11; 13.5).

In the Old Testament גורל refers primarily to the casting of lots for various purposes (519). Osten-Sacken sees the origin of the term in the allocation of land and thence its application (in the Scroll) to a group of people (520).

A more direct link with ancient military practice may, however, be suggested. In the Scroll the two opposing groups are described in a purely military context. It might, therefore, be more reasonable to see the application to them of the designation גורל as originating in an essentially military use of the term. The military usage is in fact attested in the Old Testament. In Judges 1.1ff enquiry is made of Yahweh to determine which tribe will be the first to attack the Canaanites. Although the term גורל is not apparent in verse 1, we gather from verse 3 that the lot falls to Judah. Similarly, in the war of attrition against Benjamin enquiry is made of Yahweh to see which tribe will lead the attack (Ju 20.18). Again, the term is not found in this verse, but the use of the lot may be implied. In Judges 20.9-10 mobilisation takes place "by lot". In the same chapter (v 27), a reference to the Ark would seem to indicate that it was the means of enquiry, but this need not exclude the use of the lot — indeed, the Ark (essentially a wooden box) may have contained the objects or instruments of oracular enquiry.

The same passage may throw some light on another use of גורל in the Scroll. In 1 QM 1.13; 17.16; 18.1 גורל is also applied to the seven phases of the eschatological battle. Here the military connotation of the term is more apparent. In the account of the tribal war against Benjamin we note that three actions were fought, and, prior to each, enquiry was made of Yahweh (Ju 20.18,23,27-28).

Are the seven phases in 1 QM 1.13-14 to be understood on a similar basis as the three phases in Judges 20.18-48 ?

The situation envisaged in the Scroll (although no explicit details are given) might well lend itself to this kind of divine consultation between battle-phases, especially in view of the fact that in three of the encounters the Sons of Light are to be repulsed.

In his discussion, Osten-Sacken goes so far as to suggest that 1 QM 1.13-14 "are apparently dependent on the ceremony of the lot-oracle" (521). W.H. Brownlee makes a similar remark in reference to the meaning of גורל in two passages of the Manual of Discipline (1 QS 5.3; 6.16). While acknowledging that the sense is not literal, Brownlee suggests that "goral still retains the connotation of divine will from the earlier practice of casting lots" (522).

Additional support for these considerations is found in the related term **גֹּרָל**. In the Old Testament the term refers originally to portions of land decided by lot (e.g. Josh 14.4; 15.13; 18.7; 19.9). A new concept is apparent in Deuteronomy 32.9 : Yahweh's "portion" (**גֹּרָל**) is His people (cf Zech 2.16 (EVV 12) (523); we may compare the Scroll's use of "goral" with reference to people (supra p 150). In addition, the verb **גָּרַל** is used in association with "goral" with reference to the dividing of land by lot (Nu 26.55,56; Josh 18.6,8,10; 19.51; cf Josh 14.2+5). In the Scroll the verb **גָּרַל** appears in a military context referring to the "dividing" of the war against the children of Ham and the children of Japheth during the stipulated period of twenty years (1 QM 2.13,14); here Yadin notes as a possible interpretation : "fought by divisions" (524). It is relevant in this context to mention the Chronicler's use of the verb **גָּרַל** with reference to the arranging of priestly courses. Thus we read in 1 Chronicles 24.3 that David "divided" the priests **וַיַּקְדֵּם בְּגִדֵּיהֶם וַיַּגְדֵּלֵם** (NEB: "organised them in divisions for the discharge of the duties of their office"; cf also v 4). Significantly, according to verse 5, these divisions are organised (**גָּרַל**) by means of lot (**בְּגֹרָלֹת**) (NEB: "he organised them by drawing lots among them"; cf v 31).

The substantive **בְּחִלָּה** provides a further link. According to the Chronicler, the "divisions" of priests, levites, and door-keepers for service in the Temple are designated **בְּחִלָּה** (1 Chr 23.6; 24.1,31; 26.1,12,19; 28.13,21; note the reference to "lot" in 24.7). More importantly, the divisions of David's national militia are similarly designated (1 Chr 27.1 and passim; 28.1).

In 1 QM 2.10, **בְּחִלָּה** denotes the "divisions" by which the latter twenty-nine years of the war will be waged. For the mobilisation of men for this "war of divisions", Yadin rightly suggests a system of partial conscription (525). For such a system some method of selection would be necessary; for this therefore we may suggest a revival of the ancient lot (as illustrated for example in Judges 20.9-10). Furthermore, the idea of selection is conveyed in 1 QM 2.7 by the verb **בָּחַל**; the corresponding usage in the Old Testament is discussed by Yadin (526).

With reference again to the designation of the faithful, the idea of divine will and choice (fundamental to the meaning of "goral") is clearly presented in the concept of "the elect". Thus we read in 1 QM 12.1b-2 : "the elect ones (**בְּחִירֵי**) of a holy people Thou didst place for Thyself in a community". The military context is explicit in 12.4 : "to muster the hosts of Thine elect (**בְּחִירֵי**) by

their thousands and their myriads". The concept of an elect people is further indicated in 10.9: "who is like unto Thy people Israel, which Thou hast chosen for Thyself from all the nations of the lands". For this concept in the Old Testament, note especially: Dt 7.6-7; 14.2; 2 Sam 7.23f; 1 Chr 16.13; Ps 33.12; 105.6,43; 106.5; Is 43.20b; 45.4; 65.9,15a,22; Ezk 20.5.

The War Scroll provides some evidence of the concept of the faithful as a Covenant-people. An explicit reference is found in the context of a pre-battle address (1 QM 10.10) where the elect are described as a "holy Covenant-people": $\text{אֲנִי הַקֹּדֶשׁ הַבְּרִית}$ (literally, "a people of holy ones of Covenant"); Yadin translates: "a people of men holy through (527) the Covenant". It is important to note that the phrase in question is not co-terminous with "Israel" in the previous line (528), but refers to the Covenant-warrior-saints of the Scroll (and indeed of the Qumran community). Further, in 1 QM 17.8b the faithful are called "sons of His Covenant": בְּנֵי הַבְּרִית . Like the phrase "a holy Covenant people" (10.10), this appellation is unique to the Scroll.

In the Scroll there is also an emphasis on God's Covenant faithfulness. Thus, in line with Old Testament concepts, God "keeps Covenant" (1 QM 14.8b; 18.7), and "preserves mercy for His Covenant" (1 QM 14.4) (529). In addition, appeal is made to God on the basis of His Covenant with the forefathers (1 QM 13.7b; 14.8b; cf 17.3); similarly, God's help will be provided "for the sake of His Covenant" (1 QM 13.8b; 18.7b-8a) (for OT references, vide supra, note (355)).

The designation "Sons of Light" (1 QM 1.1,3,9,11,13; 13.16; 14.17; 17.16; possibly 13.16; cf also "the Lot of Light", 1.13-14; 13.9) serves especially to distinguish the faithful from the enemy who are correspondingly termed "Sons of Darkness" (vide supra p150). Here we may note the opinion of Osten-Sacken, whose discussion of the origins and development of 1 QM dualism is a useful contribution to the study of the War Scroll itself and to the wider issue of the theological and dualistic concepts evident elsewhere in the Qumran writings. Osten-Sacken sees a close connection between the dualistic concepts of the Scroll (notably in Col. 1) and the terminology of Old Testament eschatology, more especially that of the Day of Yahweh tradition. A fundamental point is that the dualism presented in the Scroll is a primitive development, and essentially an eschatological battle-dualism. Thus, according to Osten-Sacken, the end-war opponents in 1 QM are designated "Sons of Light" and "Sons of Darkness" in anticipation of their eschatological destiny (530).

There is sound evidence in 1 QM for the designation of the (human) warriors as $\text{Q}^{\ast}\psi\text{I}\eta\text{P}$: "holy ones", "saints", albeit in the Scrolls (531) as in the Old Testament (532), the term is applied mainly to heavenly "holy ones", and is in fact synonymous with "angels". On the subject of the "saints" in Daniel, J.J. Collins pertinently remarks that since the discovery of the Scrolls $\text{Q}^{\ast}\psi\text{I}\eta\text{P}$ "is no longer so overwhelmingly indicative of the meaning 'angels'" (533).

The relevant passages in 1 QM are: 6.6 (similarly, 16.1); 10.10; 12.7. Thus, we read: "He shall do valiant deeds through the saints of his people" (6.6; 16.1); "the King of Glory is with us, a people of saints" (12.7). The phrase $\text{A}^{\ast}\eta\text{I} \psi\text{I}\eta\text{P} \text{עם}$ (10.10) means literally, "a people of saints of covenant". Note also the trumpet inscription: "Peace of God in the camps of his saints" (3.5).

In 15.14b-15a the reference to holy ones "preparing themselves for a day of (? vengeance)" might be taken as a human action corresponding to "the angels girding themselves for battle" of the previous clause. Equally, the second phrase might be read in strict parallel to the first — the broken text does not help interpretation.

Significant in 6.6 (16.1); 10.10; 12.7 is the association of the word "people" with the term "saints". In this we have a striking similarity to the crux interpretum of Daniel 7.27, where the addition of "people" to the phrase "saints of the Most High" (as *ibid.* vv 18, 22, 25) would seem to support the interpretation of "saints" as earthly holy ones (534).

In 1 QM the designation of the warriors as $\text{Q}^{\ast}\psi\text{I}\eta\text{P}$ may to some extent be influenced by the fact of angelic participation in the eschatological battle (thus, Porteous and Collins (535)). Another possible link, however, should not be overlooked. The application of $\text{Q}^{\ast}\psi\text{I}\eta\text{P}$ to human beings might seem a logical extension of the Old Testament use of $\sqrt{\psi\eta\text{P}}$ to denote cultic consecration (536). Of particular significance is the Old Testament designation $\psi\text{I}\eta\text{P} \text{עם}$ (537) (cf 1 QM 14.12: $\eta\text{I} \psi\text{I}\eta\text{P} \text{עם}$; 12.1b: $\psi\text{I}\eta\text{P} \text{עם}$ $\eta\text{I} \text{עם}$). H. Kosmala considers as a possible origin of the designation "saints", the levitical demand: "ye shall be holy" (538).

Furthermore, it is important to note that in the Old Testament use of $\sqrt{\psi\eta\text{P}}$, there is a close connection with the concept of cultic separation conveyed by the related term $\sqrt{\eta\text{I}}$ and exemplified especially in the separation of the ancient nazirite (539).

Significant also is the emphasis on "holiness", with reference both to individuals and Community, in the Manual of Discipline (540).

Moralistic and theological interpretation of the War

Moralistic and theological overtones, which are associated originally and fundamentally with the tradition-history of holy war, present themselves in various aspects of the Scroll's portrayal of battle.

Noteworthy is the consistent presentation of the motifs of God's anger, judgment, vengeance and retribution. In the main, such motifs are incorporated in the various inscriptions (541), but they are also apparent elsewhere in the text (542).

The wrath of God is expressed in 1.4 with an intensity almost unequalled in Jewish literature:

"In His appointed time He shall go forth with great wrath to fight against the kings of the north, and His anger shall be such as to destroy utterly and to cut off the horn of Belial".

In 6.5-6 we read that two skirmishing battalions will advance

".... to slay through the judgment of God to exact retribution for their wickedness upon all nations of vanity".

The battle is epitomised as "the day of vengeance" (6.15; 7.5; 15.3,16), and "a day of doom" (1.11). In these phrases and in references simply to "the day" (1.9,10,12; 13.15; 15.12; 17.5), we would seem to have a definite and deliberate link with the prophetic Day of Yahweh concept (vide supra especially pp 56-59). Significantly, in the Scroll, "the day" defines and characterises the eschatological battle. Moreover, all the motifs mentioned belong essentially to the prophetic Oracles against the Nations (and Day of Yahweh) tradition as has been clearly demonstrated by G.H. Jones, J.H. Hayes, and B.B. Margulis. It is also cogently argued that these Oracles had their original Sitz im Leben in the ancient practice of holy war (543).

A significant change of emphasis is evident in the Scroll's use and application of the moralistic categories. In the Scroll, God's anger, judgment and vengeance are directed solely against the enemies of His chosen people. This contrasts markedly with the Old Testament prophetic tradition, in which Israel and Judah are condemned as well as foreign nations. The different emphasis in the Scroll may be understood from the nature of the document itself. The context deals expressly with a battle situation in which the two opposing sides are clearly delineated and contrasted. We might expect, therefore, that only the enemy should be the object of divine anger and judgment, more so here since the battle is God's battle and the enemy is His enemy.

On the other hand, in the Scroll the characterisation of the battle

does have significant implications for the faithful. In terms almost identical to a passage in Daniel 12.1, the battle is described as :

".... a time of mighty trouble for the people to be redeemed by God. In all their troubles there was none like it...."

(1 QM 1.11b-12; cf 10.17-18; 15.1).

In the abbreviated allusion in 15.1, and in the textual restoration in 10.17-18, the reference is to "a time of trouble for Israel". Yadin comments on 1.12 that "the trouble is not restricted to the sect but is that of all Israel". This might well be questioned, especially in view of the apparent originality of the version in 1.12 vis-a-vis 15.1 and 10.17-18. Moreover, no reference is made to "Israel" either in Daniel 12.1 or in 1 QM 1.12 (or indeed in Col.1 where the protagonists are the Sons of Light).

Some development of the Daniel passage is to be observed in 1 QM 1.12. In particular, in contrast to Daniel the "time of trouble" is directly applied to God's people — the battle is their time of affliction. Again in the Scroll, a more specific phrase, "the people to be redeemed by God", considerably modifies the corresponding phrase in Daniel 12.2 ("at that time Thy people shall be redeemed"). Even in Daniel, however, the words "Thy people" are significantly qualified by the phrase which follows: "everyone that shall be found written in the book" (cf 1 QM 12.2), which would seem to imply that the reference is not to all Israel but to a select number to be saved. Elsewhere in the Scroll the people to be redeemed are designated "the poor ones" (11.9a, vide Yadin Comm. ad loc; cf 14.5-7), "the lot of God" (15.1b), and possibly "the remnant" (14.8,9). On balance, therefore, the "time of trouble" in 1 QM 1.11b-12 would seem to refer to the conflict which the faithful warriors are to endure.

For one critical aspect of the battle, namely, the problem of casualties among the Sons of Light, the Scroll finds it necessary to provide theological explanations. Thus, in 16.9b we read :

".... the slain among the skirmishers begin to fall, according to God's mysteries and to test thereby all those destined for battle" (cf 17.17 (incomplete)).

This would seem to be the subject of the chief priest's encouragement address in 16.13-15 (the text unfortunately is broken). The use of the term 𐤇𐤍 (544) with reference to the slain (545) suggests that the reason for their deaths is part of the hidden purpose of God — this may well be a redemptive purpose. Perhaps the defective text in 16.13-15 was intended to elucidate this question further. As Yadin suggests (Comm. ad 16.13), this section may have contained the justification of the (temporary) defeat of the Sons of Light. There is

also a hint (in lines 13b-14a) that God's mysteries or secrets are in fact understood by the elect (cf also 10.10-11a, and Yadin Comm. ad loc). In this connection it is interesting to note that in Daniel (where the term **סֵתֵר** makes its unique appearance in the Old Testament), God is especially described as "the revealer of mysteries" (Dan 2.19, 22, 28, 30, 47).

Of further importance is the fact that in 1 QM 14.14 the "mysteries" of God are closely related to His "wonders" with specific reference to the "raising of those belonging to the dust": **רִי נִפְלְאוֹתֶיךָ** ("mysteries of Thy wonders", or, "Thy secret wonders") (546).

The motif of Yahweh "doing wonders" occurs frequently in the Old Testament, where it is indicative of Yahweh's saving acts (547). The significant innovation in the Scroll is that God's mysteries and wonders are applied to the suffering of the elect. In this connection, M. Black draws attention to this "language of redemptive suffering" in the Qumran Hodayoth (548). Perhaps it is in this sense also that the reference to **אֵלֶּיךָ** in Daniel 12.6 should be interpreted ("how long to the end of the wonders?").

In the broken text at the end of Col.16 the subject of the slain in battle is again mentioned, and here, in addition to God's mysteries, reference is made to men being treated according to their deserts. This theme seems to be continued in the first line of Col.17, and in 17.2 the fate of Aaron's sons Nadab and Abihu (Lev 10.1-6; cf Nu 3.4) is held up as a salutary warning to the warriors. The warning might be understood as referring to the danger to them of cultic offence. Here, therefore, we are perhaps meant to see a possible reason for the deaths among the Sons of Light (549).

A more explicit explanation of casualties is indicated in the concept of "testing". Thus, the slaying of skirmishers is to test "all those destined (**לְמִלְחָמָה**) for battle" (1 QM 16.9b). in the term **כֶּסֶף**, T.H. Gaster sees a pun on the word for "gold", **כֶּסֶף** (550). The idea of refining or purifying is further seen in the addition of the motif of men being tested in the "crucible", **כִּנּוּן** (17.1). Note especially the comprehensive hortation to the warriors in 17.9 :

"be ye strong in God's crucible, until He shall lift up His hand and shall complete (551) His testings (**כִּנּוּנָיִךָ**)

through His mysteries with regard to your existence".

The designation of the period of testing as a crucible occurs elsewhere in the Qumran writings (552). We may compare also the metaphorical use of the verb **כִּנּוּן** in the Old Testament (553).

Especially in the Book of Daniel the end-time is seen as a period of testing and purging (Dan 11.35; 12.10).

A leading theme in the Scroll's portrayal of the eschatological war is the concept that the conflict has been pre-ordained by God. This idea may well be another aspect of the "mysteries" of God. The theme is conveyed by a number of closely related terms and expressions.

Frequent use is made of the substantive **גִּזְלוֹעַר** to describe the battle as the "appointed time" of God. Especially important are the emphatic statements :

כִּי־אָז בִּזְמַן הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה 15.12b

for this day is an appointed time of battle;

הַיּוֹם בִּזְמַן 17.5

to-day is His appointed time;

כִּי־הוּא יוֹם יַעֲזוֹד לוֹ מֵאֵלָּא לְבִלְחַמַּת כָּלָה 1.10

for that is a day appointed by Him from of old
for a battle of annihilation.

Note also the inscription on the trumpets for calling the skirmishers to advance against the enemy :

זִכְרוֹן נֶקֶם בִּזְמַן אֵל 3.7-8a

vengeful remembrance at the appointed time of God;

and a battle-standard inscription:

בִּזְמַן אֵל 4.7

appointed time of God.

Significantly, the term **גִּזְלוֹעַר** is used in the Book of Daniel to denote the eschatological time (Dan 8.19; 11.27,29,35; note also Hab 2.3). Almost synonymous with **גִּזְלוֹעַר**, the term **זְמַן** also indicates the time of God's decisive action (1 QM 1.4,5,8b; cf the similar use of **זְמַן**, 1.5,11b-12a; 15.1). Again in the Book of Daniel, **זְמַן** frequently denotes the eschatological end-event, the divine moment of destiny (Dan 8.17,19; 11.27,35,40; 12.4,6,9,13; note also Ezk 7.2,3,6 and Hab 2.3).

In 1 QM 1.8a the plural of **גִּזְלוֹעַר** appears in the unique phrase "the appointed times of darkness", which Osten-Sacken interprets as "the divinely appointed eschatological periods" (554) (cf Dan 12.7).

God's appointed time is variously characterised as a time of battle (1 QM 1.10; 15.5a,12b), encounter (3.14b), vengeance (3.7b;13.17; 15.6b), retribution (18.13), wrath (1.4), trouble (1.11b-12a; 15.1); on the other hand, it is also a time of deliverance (1.5) and dominion (1.5 **לְשִׁמְלָה**; cf Dan 7.18,22 where as the climax of the eschatological event, the sovereignty (**מַלְכוּתָא**) is to be given to the saints).

That the "time" has been predestined is further indicated by the use of the verb **לְמַד** ("to appoint") --- with God as subject (1 QM 1.10; 13.14b,17; 18.9). Note also the substantive **לְמַדוֹת**, "things ordained"

(1 QM 11.8; 13.8a; 14.4b,13). In addition, the characteristic expression "from of old" (לְעוֹלָם) makes the idea of predestination more explicit (1.10; 11.11; 13.14; 18.9; for the term לְעוֹלָם , cf also Is 48.3,5).

As suggested above (p157), there is some indication in the Scroll that the faithful have to some extent been initiated into God's mysteries (cf 10.10-11a; 16.13b-14a). Thus also we read that the prophets, "the seers of things ordained" ($\text{לְיָדָיו מְבִינֵי דְבָרֵי מִלְחָמָה}$), have in fact foretold the times (זְמַנֵּי) of God's wars (11.8; cf Ezk 38.17). Significantly, an explicit statement in 11.11 is followed by a quotation of Isaiah 31.8:

"From of old Thou hast announced to us the time appointed for the mighty deed of Thy hand against the Kittim, saying:

Then shall Asshur fall with the sword not of man, and the sword, not of men, shall devour him".

Finally we may note that, corresponding to the time of conflict, the time of deliverance for the people of God has been pre-ordained (1 QM 1.5,8b-9a; 14.4b-5a,13; 18.9).

IV Battle address and war liturgy

Discussion of battle address and war liturgy may be prefaced by noting a predominant feature of the Scroll's presentation of battle, namely, the exceptional extension of priestly function and influence. To this extent the battle receives the character of an eminently sacerdotal enterprise, which M. Black pertinently describes as "a tour de force of priestly imagination" (555). The overall control of battle is essentially the prerogative and responsibility of the Aaronite priests, mainly by virtue of their possession of the signalling trumpets. Thus, assembling and marshalling of troops, formation of battle-lines, deployment of battle-formations, and tactical manoeuvres are all under priestly direction. The importance of priestly functions in these matters is evident fr^{om} the amount of material devoted to the detailed description of the trumpets (1 QM 2.15 - 3.11), and from the numerous references to the consistent use of the trumpets in battle (7.14 - 9.7; 16.2b-11a; 17.10-15; 18.3b-4a).

Equally, the encouragement and exhortation of troops by means of prayer and battle address is almost entirely undertaken by the priestly corps --- truly a military chaplaincy with vastly extended duties and status. Accordingly, in contrast with the Old Testament war narratives, addressing the army in the Scroll is, with the possible exception of one reference to an address by officers, exclusively the function of priests. As we shall see, the priestly duties in this respect are divided between the chief priest and a priest selected for the purpose.

According to 1 QM 5.15 (as restored by Yadin) priests and levites⁽⁵⁵⁶⁾ are present with the troops drawn up in close formation prior to regrouping for battle.

The passage 1 QM 7.7. - 9.9, described by Davies as a battle-rule for priests (557), clearly illustrates the development of the priestly role in battle and indicates equally the relationship between the priests (and levites) and the levitical officers (558) to whom a considerable role is also assigned. Thus, in 7.8-12, (with the notable omission at this point of a reference to the chief priest) seven priests, ceremonially clad in battle-garments, take up position between the lines: six of them are responsible for trumpet signals and the other has the specific function of walking between the lines "to strengthen their hands in battle" (7.11; cf 15.6b-7). According to 7.12b-14a, seven levites with ram's horns (cf Josh 6.4a, 6b, 8a, 13a)

accompany the priests, and three levitical officers precede the priests and levites to their positions between the lines. In line 15b we are told that levitical officers advance with the skirmishers (i.e. to the fighting positions); it may be suggested that these officers (provosts-marshal ?) combine priestly and military duties in the midst of battle, whither priests are forbidden to approach (9.7b-8).

Apart from a statement in 15.5b-6a which indicates that the chief priest sets in order (770) "all the formations", his main function is to address the assembled army.

For convenience, a brief outline of priestly function and of hortatory and liturgical material as presented in the Scroll is given in Additional Note G (infra pp 181f).

Without doubt, battle address and war liturgy, together with an all-embracing sacerdotal emphasis, constitute a unique and prominent feature of the Qumran War Scroll. The war speech is an essential and unalterable constituent of the ancient holy war tradition (559) and we shall now endeavour to trace its revival and development in 1 QM. Sufficient evidence presents itself in the Scroll to indicate the use of the formal battle speech exactly in the manner and with the characteristic terminology, motifs and concepts of the ancient holy war tradition. At the same time it is important to distinguish actual speech forms from a larger and even more impressive body of hymnic and liturgical material, much of which probably had an independent existence prior to its inclusion in 1 QM. This material serves to amplify actual addresses and comprises, in the main, pre-battle appeal to God in the form of prayer and praise, and post-battle hymns of thanksgiving. Part of the value of Davies' study is the demonstration that a critical literary analysis of this material is both necessary and possible.

The Deuteronomic war code provides a useful focal point at which to begin our discussion. The formative influence of the Deuteronomic war code in respect of regulations for warrior purity has already been noted (supra pp 140-144). It is highly significant that the speech pattern indicated in Deuteronomy 20.1-9, comprising an address by the priest followed by an address by the officers, is represented in outline in 1 QM 10.2-8. Again, comparison of the relevant passages reveals certain similarities and notable differences. (For Dt 20.5-8 vide supra pp 42-45.

Dt 20.1-9 (+Nu 10.1,9)

1 QM 10.2b-8a

- 1 When thou goest out to battle against thine enemies, and seest horses and chariots, and a people more than thou, be not afraid of them: for Yahweh thy God is with thee, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.
- 2 And it shall be, when ye are come nigh unto the battle, that the priest shall approach and speak unto the people,
- 3 And shall say unto them, Hear, O Israel, ye approach this day unto battle against your enemies: let not your hearts faint, fear not, and do not tremble, neither be ye afraid because of them;
- 4 For Yahweh your God is he that goeth with you, to fight for you against your enemies, to save you.
- 5 And the officers ($\Delta^{\ast} \gamma \phi \psi \eta$) shall speak unto the people, saying,

When ye are come nigh unto the battle, the priest shall stand up and speak unto the people,

saying, Hear, O Israel, ye approach this day unto battle against your enemies: fear not and let not your hearts faint, do not tremble, neither be ye afraid because of them;

for your God goeth with you, to fight for you against your enemies, to save you.

And our provosts ($\}} \gamma \phi \psi \eta [\psi]$) shall speak to all those prepared for battle, the willing-hearted, to hold fast through the might of God,

What man is there that hath built a new house, and hath not dedicated it? let him go and return to his house, lest he die in battle, and another man dedicate it.

- 6 And what man is there that hath planted a vineyard, and hath not yet eaten of it? let him also go and return unto his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man eat of it.
- 7 And what man is there that hath betrothed a wife, and hath not taken her? let him go and return unto his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man take her.
- 8 And the officers shall speak further unto the people, and they shall say, What man is there that is fearful and fainthearted? let him go and return unto his house, lest his brethren's heart faint as well as his heart.
- 9 And it shall be, when the officers have made an end of speaking unto the people, that they shall make captains of the armies to lead the people.

to turn back all the fainthearted, and to hold fast together, all mighty men of valour.

(vv 10-20 : law of siege & herem)

Nu 10.1,9

(1 QM 10)

1 And Yahweh spoke unto Moses,
saying,

And as to that which Thou
hast spoken by the hand of
Moses, saying:

6b

9 And if ye go to war in your land
against the enemy that oppresseth
you, then ye shall blow an alarm
with the trumpets (אֲנֹכַחֲכֶם);
and ye shall be remembered before
Yahweh your God, and ye shall be
saved from your enemies.

If there cometh a war
in your land against the enemy 7
that oppresseth you, then ye
shall blow an alarm with the
trumpets (אֲנֹכַחֲכֶם), and ye
shall be remembered before
your God, and ye shall be 8a
saved from your enemies.

There is much to be said for the suggestion of Osten-Sacken (560) that 1 QM 10.1-8a may be regarded as a proto-cell of the Qumran war ordinances (i.e. 7.9 - 9.9; 14.2ff; and 15-19). The passage is much more than simply a collection of Old Testament texts. More especially here we have an indication of the taking up of the ancient holy war tradition: specifically, the speech-form of the Deuteronomic war code, and the essential motifs of the ancient pre-battle address.

It is immediately apparent that the language of the priest's address of encouragement (1 QM 10.2b-4) corresponds almost exactly with the wording of Dt 20.2-4 (an obvious omission from the Scroll text is the Tetragrammaton of Dt 20.4 --- cf supra, note (517)). Fundamental elements from the holy war tradition are therefore readily apparent: the injunction not to be afraid, and the concept that God goes with His people and fights for them. More importantly, since the Deuteronomic passage crystallises and gives legalistic form to essential features of the ancient war speech, the War Scroll preserves here an impressive link (through the Deuteronomic war code) with the practice of holy war in ancient Israel.

Following Deuteronomy, the Scroll refers simply to "the priest" as spokesman. This contrasts with the clear distinction made elsewhere in the Scroll between the hortatory functions of the chief priest and the priest appointed for the day of battle. It is noteworthy in this connection that the character and content of the address of "the priest" (in Deuteronomy and 1 QM 10) corresponds to the encouragement address of the priest appointed for battle (cf 1 QM 15.6b-9a).

The strict adherence to the Deuteronomic speech-pattern is also evident in the Scroll's retention of the officers' address (10.5-6a); although it is at this point that the divergence from Deuteronomy is most apparent --- indeed the omission of the main substance of the

Deuteronomic passage (Dt 20.5-9: the law of exemption and the appointment of unit commanders) leaves the officers with little to say or do; even the oblique and partial reference to the dismissal of the fainthearted lacks the formality of the Deuteronomic regulation. Presumably it is to make up for this omission that the Scroll adapts for the officers an abbreviated encouragement speech, for which there is no precedent in Dt 20.5-9 (or in the ancient war tradition), and to which there is no other reference in the Scroll. (By reason of their strategic position (1 QM 7.13,15) we may infer that the officers have a practical battle-role, but their functions in this respect are not defined --- cf Yadin, *Comm.* ad loc; vide supra p 161 top). It is clear, therefore, that the Scroll's consistent presentation of the chief priest and the priest appointed for battle as the exclusive war-spokesmen makes all the more remarkable the concern to reproduce the outline of the Deuteronomic speech-pattern --- especially with reference to an officers' speech.

The dismissal of men who fall within three categories of social exemption (vide supra, especially pp 42-45) is an integral feature of the Deuteronomic war code. Yadin discusses at length the omission from the Scroll of these categories and assumes that the dismissal of the men concerned would in fact have taken place at an earlier stage of the preparation for war and at a location farther removed from the battle area (561). There is however no evidence in the Scroll to support these suggestions; nor would Yadin's assumption adequately explain the omission of such essential regulations from a passage expressly based on the Deuteronomic war code. Furthermore, where the Scroll does indicate categories of disqualification from war (on the grounds of ritual purity), 1 QM 7.3b-4a,4b-5,6 (vide supra pp 142ff), there is no mention of the exemption regulations of Dt 20.5-7. It might therefore be more reasonable to assume that these exemptions (especially as presented in Deuteronomy) had no practical relevance for the Qumran warriors. Moreover, in their omission from the War Scroll we may discern a reflection of the essential character of the Qumran Community: in a community whose members held all things in common, the property rights of individuals in respect of houses or vineyards would be of no practical concern; similarly, for a celibate community, the question of marital rights would not arise. These particulars, therefore, may have been deliberately omitted by the compiler of the War Scroll.

As mentioned above, the Scroll makes only a brief allusion to the dismissal of the fainthearted (10.5b-6a), omitting not only the stereotyped formula but also the rationalising explanation of Dt 20.8

With the Scroll reference we may compare the dismissal of the fainthearted from Gideon's militia (Ju 7.3). In some measure, therefore, the dismissal of the fainthearted in the Scroll indicates the ancient practice which undoubtedly underlies both Judges 7.3 and Deuteronomy 20.8 (vide supra, pp 44-45).

Finally, the Scroll's departure from the text and content of Dt 20 is further seen in the quotation of Numbers 10.9 inserted after the reference to the officers' address (1 QM 10.6b-8a). It is not expressly stated that these words are to be spoken by the officers as part of their address; however, in a speech of encouragement this particular quotation (especially the concept of remembrance before God) would be entirely appropriate, and in the immediate context of battle, might well precede the sounding of trumpets. Such a sequence of events is in fact indicated elsewhere in the Scroll: thus, after the encouragement address reported in Col 15, we read in 16.2b-3 that the remembrance trumpets are sounded, and this marks the beginning of the battle-action. Thus, in 10.6b-8a the inclusion of the quotation of Nu 10.9 is significant as a point of transition from pre-battle speech to actual battle-attack. Again Osten-Sacken sees Nu 10.9 as the ultimate source of the attack rules in the Scroll (562). (The quotation also confirms the formative influence of Nu 10.1-10 on the Scroll's elaborate system of trumpets; vide supra, pp 130-131).

The indications in 1 QM 7.11a and 10.2-5 of the use of war address are confirmed in the content of speeches attributed to the priest "destined for the appointed time of revenge" (15.6b - 16.1) and the chief priest (16.11b - 17.9).

Since these two priestly spokesmen play the key roles in the hortatory and liturgical presentation of battle it is relevant at this point to note different aspects of their functions. In several respects the Scroll clearly distinguishes between the two priests. (563)

Firstly, with reference to their battle-stance, the chief priest ^Atakes up a stationary position in front of the assembled troops and thus addresses the entire army (15.4) or a reserve formation (16.11b) en masse; the priest appointed for battle walks along the lines (7.11; 15.6b-7a) addressing the men at close quarters in their battle-stations.

Secondly, the precise function of each priest is also clearly distinguished, and this is reflected in the content of their respective addresses. The chief priest's functions are mainly

ceremonial and liturgic. According to 15.4b-5 he reads from the Book Serekh 'itto (a priestly war manual? cf Yadin, Comm. ad loc) "the prayer for the appointed time of battle....including all the texts of their thanksgivings". No text for the prayer is provided at this point in the Scroll, but as we shall see, the prayers and hymns collected together in Cols. 10.8b - 12.15 amply illustrate the requisite material. The function of the priest appointed for battle is to "strengthen the hands" (7.11; 15.7) by means of an (564) encouragement address, the text of which is supplied at 15.8 - 16.1.

In addition, at a critical stage of the battle, the chief priest delivers a special address to a formation of reserves. Although the chief priest is said to "strengthen heart and hands" (16.11b-12), the text which follows (16.13 - 17.9) is not primarily a typical speech of encouragement.

We may now proceed to examine the content of the speeches.

In character and content the opening statements of the encouragement address of the priest appointed for battle (15.7b-9a) show considerable correspondence with the speech of "the priest" in Dt 20.3 and 1 QM 10.3-4a (565). It is equally apparent that the whole address (15.7b - 16.1) presents a more extensive range of holy war motifs and concepts, including additional elements of the ancient battle speech, and at the same time taking up notable prophetic motifs; indeed one might almost discern here the tradition-history of holy war in microcosm.

Ancient battle speech "constants" are evident in the injunctions:

Be ye strong and courageous and be men of valour,
fear not, nor be ye dismayed and let not your hearts faint,
do not tremble, neither be ye afraid because of them,
be not turned back nor flee from them. (15.7b-9a) (566).

Thus far the content of this significant speech makes it evident that it is the second priest who in fact promulgates the essential battle speech of the ancient holy war tradition.

The remainder of the address is likewise illuminating. Evidence of the prophetic (OAN) tradition is apparent in the moralistic characterisation of the enemy (15.9-10a) (cf supra pp 149f., and also p 59foot), and in the significant reference to the enemy's transitory nature and to the ineffectiveness of the enemy's strength (15.10b-12a; (567)).

Closely associated with the same tradition is the concept of God raising His hand against the enemy (15.13b) and the motif of God "calling a sword upon all nations" (16.1) (vide infra p 185).

The motif of "the battle of God" (15.12) is a definite link with the spiritualised war-narratives of the Old Testament and has attained a

unique climax in the battle presentation of 2 Chronicles 20 (vide infra p 186). Furthermore, the idea of a divinely appointed day of battle (15.12b-13a,15) is clearly reminiscent of the prophetic Day of Yahweh and of the apocalyptic time of Daniel (vide supra pp 155, 158). Finally, the reference to the angelic hosts (15.14) not only links up with Yahweh's heavenly armies in the ancient Israelite war tradition but gives the portrayal of the battle in the Scroll a new and unique cosmic dimension (vide infra pp 172,187f). (For the textual references cited above, see note (568)).

The special address of the chief priest, reported in 16.11b - 17.9 , has its setting at a crucial stage of the battle when the Sons of Light begin to suffer casualties. The first part of the address (16.13b - 17.3; cf 17.9) presents an important theological assessment of the battle and in particular, explains the fact of casualties (cf supra pp 156f). The second part of the address (17.4-9) closely resembles the encouragement address delivered by the priest appointed for battle. The marked resemblance is seen not only in the familiar battle exhortation: "But ye, be ye strong and fear them not" (17.4a; note also the first word in line 9), but also in the presentation of comparable themes and motifs: deprecation of the enemy and disparagement of his support (17.4), explicit references to the controlling power of God in the divinely appointed battle (17.5b,9), and a special emphasis on Michael as the angel through whom God is to assist His elect (17.6-8a). (568).

The deprecation and moralistic denunciation of the enemy in these speeches and elsewhere in the Scroll (569) presents the kind of material which might well comprise the content of pre-battle curse. It is noteworthy, therefore, that the passage 1 QM 13.1b-2a,4-5 presents brief but significant references to a priestly rubric for cursing Belial and the spirits of his lot.

Davies denies the possibility of a battle connection here, and thinks in terms of a blessing-and-curse ritual connected with covenant renewal (570). Similarly, Yadin ^S_A contrues the passage in terms of the (Covenant) curse formulae of Deuteronomy 27.14-26 (571). A closer examination of the ritual curse in 1 QM 13 in respect of its form, application and content, goes far to disprove the judgment of these writers. Certainly it is clear that whatever meaning and usage the blessing-and-curse ritual may have elsewhere, it has been incorporated into the Scroll as an integral part of the battle liturgy and must have been meaningful as such for the compiler; it is possible therefore, that here we may have evidence of its original and ancient

(battle) setting and purpose.

As to its form, the curse ritual is clearly presented as a ceremony, and one of some importance, since the chief priest (understood) and the whole priestly entourage, together with "all the elders of the Serekh" (vide Yadin Comm. ad loc) take part and would appear to pronounce in unison the words of the curse ("...and they shall solemnly declare..." 13.2). In keeping with the other liturgical ceremonies and encouragement speeches, the blessing-and-curse ritual is closely bound up with the battle action. This association is further supported by two considerations. Firstly, the introductory formula which names the participants and gives the direction for the ceremony (13.1) recurs at 15.4, where it introduces the reference to the prayer for the appointed time of battle, and again at 18.5b-6, where it introduces the hymn of thanksgiving; significantly, this hymn opens on a note of blessing and with a reference to God's wondrous acts of deliverance. Secondly, the phrase "from where they stand" (13.1) presumably refers to the battle positions as the place for the blessing and cursing (Yadin, Comm. ad loc., considers the term equivalent to מִמָּוֶלֶד). This position is similarly indicated in 14.3 and 16.2, and an equivalent phrase, "in that place", is used for the same purpose in 15.5b and 18.6. Thus the setting of the ritual in the immediate battle situation might justify the conclusion that the compiler of the Scroll envisages the practice of cursing the enemy before battle.

The application of the ritual is equally revealing. While the "blessing" part may be seen as praise to God, it also suggests appeal to God for help in battle. Any implied Covenant reference, therefore, is not necessarily directed towards human covenant-faithfulness (sc. covenant renewal) but rather towards divine covenant-faithfulness --- that is, it may be construed as part of the appeal to God on the basis of His Covenant; (appeal to God on the basis of His Covenant is explicit in 13.7-8a, 8b-9a; 14.4b-5a, 8b-9a; 18.7-8).

The application of the curse ritual is even more obvious. The curse is expressly directed against the enemy ("Belial and all the spirits of his lot", 13.1b-2a, 4-5). This contrasts fundamentally with curses accompanying covenant or treaty agreements, which curses were directed against the participating parties as a warning against covenant-breaking (i.e. they were in the nature of delayed-action deterrents, cf Dt 27.14-26; 1 QS 2.11-18 --- contrast *ibid* lines 5-9 where the curse as in 1 QM 13 is directed against "all the men of Belial's lot"). In 1 QM 13 the curse is clearly not a covenant or treaty curse but a battle curse directed against the enemy to be destroyed.

The content of the curse ritual presents, albeit briefly, an unequivocal

execration of Belial who is cursed for his "plan of hatred" and his "guilty dominion" (13.4; for the characterisation of Belial's dominion, cf 13.10b-12a; 14.9-10; 15.9b-10a, 11b, 14a; 17.4a, 5b-6a). In 13.11 Belial is designated "an angel of hatred" whose purpose is to corrupt. J. Becker presents a pertinent discussion on Belial's dominion as the sphere of evil (572). In the curse ritual Belial's spirits are similarly characterised and similarly vilified for their "wicked plan" and "all their works of filthy uncleanness" (13.4b, 5a). Here we may compare 1 QS 1.10 where the Community initiates are counselled "to hate all the Sons of Darkness each according to his guilt" (note again the curses against the men of Belial's lot, 1 QS 2.5-9).

The foregoing considerations gain support from direct and indirect evidence in the Old Testament. The formal procedure for cursing the enemy as a necessary preliminary to battle is a central feature in the ancient Balaam tradition (note especially, *supra* p 21). It may be suggested that the curse procedure briefly outlined in 1 QM 13 has a closer affinity with the ancient Balaam oracle than with the curse formulae listed in Deuteronomy 27.15-26 or with the idea of a covenant renewal ceremony. It has also been noted that the deprecatory language of the prophetic oracles against the nations is equivalent to the ancient battle curse (*vide supra*, p 22; cf also note (569).

More particularly, three additional points may be emphasised as relevant to the literary presentation of the Scroll.

Firstly, in the ancient tradition the deprecation of the enemy by means of taunt sayings is closely related to the curse-form (*vide supra*, pp 21-22). Taunt elements are discernible in the following passages of the War Scroll:

".... we (or, they) shall render scoffing unto kings, scorn and derision unto mighty men" 12.6b-7a

".... them that are of high stature Thou wilt hew down and the haughty Thou wilt humble. All their mighty men shall have no-one to save them, their swift ones shall have no place to which to flee, to their nobles Thou wilt render contempt, and all their creatures of vanity shall be as nothing." 14.11-12a

".... their might is like unto smoke that vanisheth away, and all their assembled multitude is as chaff that passeth away, and it shall become a desolation, and shall not be found. All their creatures of evil intention shall quickly wither away" 15.10b-11

/".... their

".... their destiny is for chaos and their desire is for the void, and their support is as if it had not existed."

17.4b .

Secondly, the ancient curse is reflected in certain Biblical Psalms in two forms: a cursing wish against the enemy, and a prayer for Yahweh to take action against the enemy (vide supra, p 22).

In this connection it is pertinent to compare the form and content of prayers appealing to God to destroy the enemy in 1 QM :

"Arise, O mighty one,
take Thy captives, O man of glory,
and take Thy booty, Thou who dost valiantly.
Place Thy hand upon the neck of Thine enemies,
and Thy foot upon the bodies of the slain.
Crush the nations, Thine adversaries,
and let Thy sword devour guilty flesh." 12.9b-11a(=19.2-4)

"Rise up, rise up, O God of angels
and raise Thyself in power, O King of Kings,
To subdue the wicked so that there be no remnant,
and that there be none to escape of all the Sons of Darkness"
14.16-17a

"To-day appear Thou to us so as to remove the dominion
of the enemy, to be no more, and the hand of Thy might, and
in Thy battle against all our enemies for a discomfiture of
annihilation"
18.9end-11a .

Thirdly, we have drawn attention to herem-destruction as the ultimate actualisation of the battle curse (vide supra, p 21), and have also noted the significant use of the term **ḥrm** in the Scroll (vide supra p 129). More importantly, the Scroll places considerable emphasis on the complete annihilation of the enemy (for references, see note (482)).

The Scroll presents a considerable body of material of hymnic and liturgical character and quality. This material, which is contained mainly in Cols. 10-14, may be divided broadly into pre-battle hymns, incorporating praise, prayer and appeal to God, and, post-battle hymns of thanksgiving. In his literary analysis of this material, Davies rightly indicates the original independence of the hymnic sections (573) some of which have no original connection with war. The important point to bear in mind, however, is that the compiler has deliberately incorporated this material into the Scroll as an integral part of the battle liturgy. ~~(cf. infra)~~ Furthermore, many of the motifs and concepts expressed in this material have their origin and essential setting in the tradition-history of holy war.

As noted above (p166), the reference to the chief priest's "prayer for the appointed time of battle" (15.4b-5) is not accompanied by a corresponding liturgical text. Cols. 10.8b - 12.15, however, may be understood as supplying appropriate battle prayer and praise, although no direct indication is given that the passage is in fact the prayer to be delivered by the chief priest --- notably lacking, for instance, is the stereotyped formula "and he/they shall solemnly declare" which introduces actual speeches (13.2; 14.4; 15.7; 16.13; 18.6).

Davies' critical analysis of this composite passage is particularly helpful; again, however, bearing in mind the use made of the material by the compiler of the Scroll. Thus, although the creation hymn in 10.8b-16, as Davies notes (574), has nothing to do with war, the references to God's power as Creator (lines 12b-15) (575) would not be incongruous in a pre-battle hymn of praise and may in fact be compared with the Biblical allusions to God's saving acts which we find in the following column (note also in 10.8b-9a the reference to God's "great works" and "powerful might"). Moreover, in its Scroll setting, the hymn leads up to an appeal to God presumably for help in the time of trouble (10.17b-18).

Column 11, in which Davies detects three hymns (576), presents significant links with the holy war tradition. Frequent mention is made of the concept "the battle is God's" (11.1a,2b,4b; cf 8a "the wars of Thy hands"). Prominent also is the motif of "the hand of God" (11.1a,11; cf 8a). The ancient holy war concept of God delivering the enemy into the hand of His people (577) is apparent in 11.2,13. Evident also is the moralistic characterisation of the enemy (11.9a, 10b,11a,14a; cf supra pp 149f). With the unique reference to the idea that there is no-one to bury the enemy corpses (11.1) we may compare the similar motif in Jeremiah's oracles (for references, vide note (297)). The statement in 11.15b-16a: "so that they (i.e. the nations) may know that Thou art the God of Israel", echoes Old Testament phraseology (578) and indicates the *raison d'être* of divine deliverance. Of special significance are the references to God's saving acts in Israel's history (11.1b-3, 9b-10a). The recall of past deliverance forms the basis, and indeed the justification, of the appeal for divine help in the contemporary battle situation envisaged in the Scroll. (For 11.11-12, cf Yadin, Comm. ad loc.).

In addition to the concepts already mentioned, and in connection with the Heilsgeschichte references, we find an emphasis on the contrast between trust in God and reliance on weapons (11.2 (579)). This concept is reinforced by the quotation of Isaiah 31.8 (11.11b-12):

"Then shall Asshur fall by the sword not of man,

and the sword, not of men, shall devour him".

Similarly, it is emphasised that deliverance comes entirely from God's help and power, not from human strength and not by human deserving (11.3b-5). In keeping with these ideas, the faithful, although they achieve victory, are characterised as "the poor" (11.9a,13a), "the low of spirit" (11.10a); their heart "melts" (11.9b), they are "prostrate in the dust" (11.13). In these motifs we have some indication of the "language of redemptive suffering" (vide supra p157) and possibly a hint of penitence (cf infra pp174f). An interesting feature in these passages is not only the assurance and anticipation of certain victory, but the envisaged fulfilment of prophecy, namely, in the specific reference to the Balaam oracle (11.6-7 : Nu 24.17-9), the prophecy of Isaiah 31.8 (11.11b-12), and and in the general reference to the prophets foretelling the times of God's wars (11.7b-8a). Yadin pertinently remarks that the inclusion of the Balaam prophecy emphasises the eschatological character of the battle (Comm. ad loc; Yadin also draws attention to the actualising of the Isaiah prophecy, Comm. ad loc). In this connection, mention may also be made of the probable reference at the end of the column to Ezekiel's oracle against Gog (580).

The first half of Col. 12 (consisting, according to Davies, of two hymns: lines 1-5 and 6-9a (581)), in its vivid portrayal of the battle-hosts of angels, magnifies and dramatically accentuates the essentially cosmic character of the ultimate battle of God. Here the cosmic dimension receives its fullest expression and brings to a climax the Scroll's development of the prophetic and apocalyptic traditions. At the same time we may perceive here a positive revival of the concept and imagery of Yahweh's heavenly armies which form a prominent and authentic element within the oldest strand of the holy war tradition (cf supra, pp 48-49).

A feature completely unique in the tradition-history of holy war is the Scroll's presentation of a combined fighting force of angels and men. Although some hint of this is discernible in the ancient Israelite war tradition (e.g. in the Song of Deborah, cf supra, pp 48 & 60), the concept as presented in the Scroll marks a clearer departure from and a new extension of those ultra-spiritualised aspects of the holy war tradition in which divine intervention in battle completely excludes human warrior action (582). The following lines may be cited as typifying the Scroll's remarkable climactic expression of battle-apocalypse:

"and to muster the hosts of Thine elect by their thousands
and their myriads together with Thy holy ones and the host

of Thine angels, for strength of hand in battle to subdue them that have risen against Thee on earth by the strife of Thy judgments, but with the elect ones of heaven are Thy blessings.

12.4-5

And Thou, O God, art terrible in the glory of Thy majesty, and the congregation of Thy holy ones are amongst us for eternal alliance, and we (OR, they) shall render scoffing unto kings, scorn and derision unto mighty men, for the Lord is holy, and the King of Glory is with us, a people of saints; mighty men and a host of angels are among those mustered with us, the Mighty One of war is in our congregation, and the host of His spirits is with our steps"

12.6-8a

Essentially consonant with this cosmic presentation of the battle is the portrayal in 12.6-9 of God as Lord of war and active in battle (cf lines 6a,7a,8a). Here we are reminded of the ancient Yahweh of Hosts and the warrior God alike of ancient Hebrew poetry and prophetic oracles. Even more explicitly, this portrayal of God forms the exclusive content of the following battle hymn, 12.9-15 (repeated with slight variations in 19.2b-8), which Davies interestingly characterises as an "extended war cry" (583). (For the contribution of this hymn to the concept of the divine role in battle, vide *infra* pp 183ff).

The broken text at the end of Col.12 is taken by Yadin to be the beginning of the blessing-and-curse ritual (13.1-6, which we have discussed as a separate unit, *supra* pp 167-170). Davies, however, is probably correct in considering the remainder of Col.12 as a fragment of another separate hymn (584); this would seem more likely since 13.1 itself contains the introductory formula for the blessing-and-curse ritual.

Column 13 (apart from the blessing-and-curse ritual, lines 1-6) presents further signs of a composite character. Davies considers 13.7-13a to comprise three separate hymns with a common setting in a covenant ceremony, and 13.13b-16 to be a hymn of praise unconnected with a covenant ceremony (585).

While acknowledging with Davies that the covenant theme is prominent in 13.7-13a, we may question his assertion that the setting of these hymns is a covenant ceremony. The emphasis here is on God's covenant faithfulness (13.7b-8). Significantly, in this context the covenant with the forefathers and God's covenant faithfulness with their descendants (or at least with a remnant) are closely linked with God's assistance and mighty acts (13.8b,9a). Although the latter are not specified, we may assume that they are saving acts (note 13.9a: "Thou, O God, didst redeem us"; 13.12b-13a: "But we rejoice in Thy mighty hand, are glad in Thy salvation,

and exult in Thy help"; cf also 13.10a, angelic assistance is expected from the Prince of Light). Thus the covenant concept becomes the basis and ground of appeal to God for help. This would seem to be the implication of the statement in 13.8b, namely, that it is for the sake of His covenant that God is in the midst to give assistance.

Furthermore, in 13.9b-13a the covenant theme is lacking. Instead there is a pronounced note of predestination, and a clear distinction is made between Belial and his lot on the one hand and the lot of light and truth on the other (cf especially lines 9b-12). The setting here, therefore, by no means indicates a covenant ceremony, but possibly the prelude to the conflict between the opposing forces. That the conflict is seen in terms of a battle may be inferred from the reference to the assistance of the Prince of Light (13.10), and from the mention of God's mighty hand (13.13a).

The nature of the conflict is more clearly indicated in the concluding hymn (13.13b-end). Here a divinely predestined battle is apparent (13.14b,17) in which God's might (13.13b-14a,15b) is instrumental in destroying (13.15a,16) the enemy.

In contrast to the strength of God (13.13b-14a) the faithful are designated "the poor".

The motif of vengeance is possibly present in line 17. With this we may connect the reference to God's wrath in 14.1; (Yadin, Comm. ad loc., suggests that the last lines of Col.13 alluded to divine judgments on the nations).

Penitence themes in 1 QM hymnic material

Penitential rites as necessary cultic preliminaries to battle are widely attested in Old Testament war narratives (vide supra pp 15-17). The War Scroll provides no explicit reference to a pre-battle penitential ceremony. The omission might seem strange in view of the emphasis on ritual purity and the revival of warrior asceticism (cf supra pp 140-145, 147f). To some extent a pre-battle preparatory stage, possibly even a ceremony of ritual preparation may be implied in the taking up and extending of the purity regulations of the Deuteronomic war code (cf supra pp 140-145).

More decisively, we may point to the theme of penitence evident in elements of the Scroll's hymnic material. Here, in contrast to the portrayal of the warriors as "men of valour", "men of war", "men of renown", "mighty warriors" (cf supra pp 136foot-137), we find them described in a self-denigratory manner as "the poor ones"

(11.9,13; 13.14a; 14.7; 18.8), "the low of spirit" (11.10a), "the fallen" (14.11), and as "prostrate in the dust" (11.13; cf 14.14) (note also 11.9b, their hearts "melt").

Such motifs might well echo essential aspects of Old Testament pre-battle penitence. The statement in 11.4 :

".... not for our deeds, in that we have done wickedly,
not for our sinful actions"

may be taken as tantamount to a confession of sin (thus, explicitly in a war/penitence context, 1 Sam 7.6b; note also Saul's offerings and sacrifice to "placate" Yahweh, 1 Sam 13.9,12).

A hint of the penitence theme may be present in a passage of the thanksgiving hymn, 14.5-7 (cited *infra* p 177).

Thanksgiving after battle

The Scroll provides substantial evidence of the practice of victory thanksgiving. Before considering the texts of the thanksgivings, certain salient details of the thanksgiving procedure may usefully be examined. This may be summarised as follows.

According to 14.2-4a, immediately after battle the warriors withdraw towards "the encampment" (a forward base camp) and sing together the "hymn of return" (no text). The next morning they wash themselves and their clothing (for discussion, vide *supra* pp 145f), return to the place of battle and there "bless all together the God of Israel"; the text of the great hymn of thanksgiving follows.

In 18.5-6, again immediately after battle, at sunset the chief priest, priests, levites, army commanders and men "at that place (sc. the place of battle) bless the God of Israel"; the text follows.

A slightly more complicated situation is reported in 19.9-13. Because of nightfall the engagement is broken off. In the morning the army returns to the battle lines (presumably intending to resume the fighting) only to find the enemy destroyed by God (cf 2 Chr 20.24). Thereupon, the chief priest, his deputy, his brother priests, levites, elders of the Serekh, army commanders and their enlisted men (**וְהַכֹּהֲנִים**) "bless the God of Israel" (restored text). Then (again according to Yadin's restoration) they return to the place of battle and "praise the God of Israel"; no text of thanksgiving appears in Col. 19.

Several features merit comment.

Notable in each of the three passages is the spontaneous thanksgiving after battle.

Col. 14 provides for two separate occasions of thanksgiving and two different localities: the first, immediately after battle on the warriors' return to camp, and the second, on the next morning at the place of battle.

Cols. 18 and 19 also indicate thanksgiving at the place of battle. Col. 19 would seem also to provide for two separate occasions (pace the restored text).

Given the sacerdotal emphasis of the Scroll, it is especially significant that in Col. 14 (on both occasions) the warriors themselves offer the thanksgiving (contrast the pre-battle prayer and pre-battle address by chief priest and appointed priest).

Furthermore, in Cols. 18 and 19, although the chief priest and his whole entourage are present for the thanksgiving, the officers and other ranks also participate.

Ample precedent for ritual thanksgiving and victory celebration is found in the Old Testament (vide supra, pp 32-33). Although the Old Testament presentation is more extensive and comprehensive, the precise time and place of the thanksgiving are not always clearly indicated (586). A wider range of participants or functionaries is certainly indicated, but apart from cult functionaries (i.e. singing and dancing women), commemoration of victory is carried out by the war leader or by the warriors themselves — but not by a priest (with the exception of Jethro, Ex 18.12). It is worth noting in this regard, that the introductory formula for the Song of the Sea (Ex 15.1) indicates that Moses and the Israelites participated in the singing. Again, the Song of Miriam is presented in the form of a call to thanksgiving (Ex 15.21-22). The form indicated in Judges 5.1-2 is also a call to praise.

One Old Testament passage, 2 Chronicles 20.26, is particularly instructive, especially when compared with 1 QM 14.2-4a.

According to the Chronicler, on the fourth day after the slaughter of the Ammonites and Moabites Jehoshaphat and his army assemble in the valley of Berakah (the place of "blessing" — but also the place of battle and victory), and there they "bless Yahweh". Although no reference is found here to ritual purification of the warriors after battle, the assembling "on the fourth day" (explained in v 25 as three days gathering spoil) might suggest the three-day purificatory period necessary prior to cultic occasions (cf Ex 19.10f, 14f; vide supra p 76). Although in the Scroll the warriors cleanse

themselves on the next morning, the essential features — leaving the battle area, undergoing purification, and returning to the place of battle for thanksgiving — are in some measure evident in 2 Chronicles 20.26 .

Most important is the indication in 2 Chronicles 20.26 that the thanksgiving is offered by the warriors themselves. This is remarkable considering the prominence given to levitical singers in the battle itself (vv 21-22a). This same shift of focus is evident in the Scroll, where, as we have seen, despite a consistently sacerdotal and liturgical emphasis, the two basic ceremonies of thanksgiving in Col. 14 make no mention of priestly functionaries.

1 QM thanksgiving texts

After their withdrawal from the battle area the warriors are to sing the "hymn of return" (14.2a; for the problem of ritual purity in this context, vide supra pp 145f). No text of this hymn is supplied at this point in the Scroll.

On the morning after battle the warriors reassemble at the place of the original battle-lines for the great hymn of thanksgiving (14.2b-4a). The text of this hymn follows (lines 4b-8a).

Here we find many of the motifs apparent in the hymnic material already discussed. Noteworthy is the contrast between God's might and the weakness of the human warriors. It is especially significant that God gives them the ability to fight :

".... He hath called them that stumble unto wondrous mighty deeds, so as to raise up by judgment them whose heart had melted, to open the mouth of the dumb ones to sing God's mighty deeds, and to teach weak hands warfare. He giveth them whose knees totter strength to stand and fortifying of loins to the shoulder of them that have been brought low. Through the poor in spirit and through them that are perfect of way shall all wicked nations come to an end".

14.5b-7

An important link with the prophetic and apocalyptic tradition is indicated in the statement that God has gathered "an assembly of nations" for annihilation (14.5b). In the Old Testament, the motif of Yahweh gathering the nations for battle and for destruction occurs in several key passages where it is closely associated with prophetic holy war imagery and especially appears as a prominent feature of the Day of Yahweh and apocalyptic judgment (587).

In addition, we read that the nations are to be annihilated "without remnant" (14.5b; cf 1.6b; 18.2b-3a). For this motif and for the

related idea of "no escape" we find evidence in the tradition of holy war (588). Furthermore, the nations are characterised here as "wicked" (14.7b). In 14.4b-5a there is also an indication that the time of deliverance is predestined by God (cf *supra* pp 158f). The concept of God's covenant-faithfulness is also emphasised (14.4b).

The concept of God's covenant-faithfulness recurs at the beginning of 14.8b-12a. Davies considers this passage to be a separate hymn of thanksgiving, and suggests that it has its setting not in victory after battle but in the continuing struggle of the faithful under the dominion of Belial (589). This might certainly be inferred from the references to Belial's dominion and to his pernicious influence (14.9-10). On the other hand, 14.11b-12a are entirely in keeping with a victorious battle :

"All their mighty men shall have no one to save them, their swift ones shall have no place to which to flee, to their nobles Thou wilt render contempt, and all their creatures of vanity shall be as nothing".

For the idea that there will be no one to save them, we may compare 1 QM 1.6a and Daniel 11.45. Unsuccessful flight is a definite motif of the prophetic oracles (590).

Davies considers 14.12b-15 to be a creation hymn unconnected either with war or with thanksgiving (591). Some of the expressions, however, could be interpreted in terms of battle-praise — for instance, the references to God's "true deeds" and "mighty acts" (14.12b, 13a), and the concept of predestined times and events (13a). More specifically, in 14.14 the content and purpose of God's "glorious plan" (restored by Yadin after 4QM) and "secret wonders" are concerned with raising "those who belong to the dust" and humbling "those who belong to the angels". Here we might have an allusion to the conflict between the faithful (592) and their enemies (the angels or spirits of Belial).

The remainder of Col. 14 (lines 16-end) does not appear to be a hymn of thanksgiving. Taken along with the beginning of Col. 15, however, 14.16-end might be considered as an introduction to the narrative of the eschatological battle which begins at 15.4. In form and content, 14.16 - 15.3 present a pre-battle appeal to the Lord of war — for the opening phrases, compare 12.9b (19.2b). Especially important is the reappearance of the concept that the enemy (the "wicked") will be destroyed without remnant, none of

them will escape (14.16b; for the OT references see note (588)). In 15.1-3 the war motifs are again in evidence. The battle is predestined by God (15.1), "all nations of wickedness" are to be annihilated (2a), the enemies are "gathered for a day of vengeance" and, significantly, the instrument of their destruction will be the sword of God (2b-3).

A significant notice of thanksgiving occurs in 18.5-6, according to which at sunset on the day of battle the chief priest, priests, Levites, commanders and men, "bless the God of Israel" at the place of battle. Davies suggests that the thanksgiving which follows might be the "hymn of return" referred to in 14.2 (593). It must be noted, however, that the "hymn of return" is sung at the position of the (forward) camp and, therefore, at a place distinct from the battle-line or battlefield. Comparison might rather be made with the great hymn of thanksgiving in 14.4b-8 for which, according to 14.3, the army return to the place of the battle-lines. Furthermore, the formal introductory rubrics are almost identical (thus, 14.3b-4a : "In that place they shall bless all together the God of Israel and exalt His name in joyful unison, and shall solemnly declare...."; 18.6a : ".... shall stand up and at that place bless the God of Israel, and shall solemnly declare...."; we may compare the similar introduction to the blessing-and-curse ritual, 13.1b-2a). A degree of similarity is also apparent in the opening phraseology of the actual hymns (note especially the covenant motif) (14.4b-5a : 18.6b-8a; cf 13.2b,7-8). In one detail, namely, the time factor, Col. 18 corresponds to the immediately post-battle "hymn of return" (18.5a : 14.2a); the thanksgiving of 14.4b-8 takes place on the morning after battle (14.2b).

Examination of the hymn 18.6b-13 shows that only part of it is applicable to post-battle thanksgiving (lines 6-9). From the last two words of line 9 onwards a different situation is envisaged. It becomes apparent that the enemy is not yet annihilated and that the stage of battle which has been reached is that of the final pursuit (thus specifically, 18.11b). Lines 9end-13, therefore, present essentially a battle prayer which comprises in the main, an appeal for divine intervention (18.9end-11a) and the assurance that the battle is in God's hand (18.12b). The emphasis on the hand of God (cf also line 10) recalls the beginning of the column where, with reference to the seventh phase of the battle, divine action is to be decisive (18.1,3a; note also in line 2 the reference to pursuit).

Reference has been made above (p 176) to 19.9-end, the last lines of which Yadin restores after 14.3-4 (Yadin, Comm. ad 19.12b,13). Yadin also suggests (Comm. ad 19.13) that the remainder of the War Scroll may have described the final return to Jerusalem and the thanksgiving ceremonies there. Further to our comments on 2 Chronicles 20.26 (supra pp 176f), it may be noted that the same chapter (vv 27-28) indicates the return of the army to Jerusalem "with rejoicing", and reports the celebration of victory in the City.

Additional Note G

Outline of 1 QM priestly functions, liturgical & hortatory material

- Col. 5.15 (restored after 15.4) priests and levites are present with warriors drawn up in close formation before regrouping for battle.
- 7.8-12a when troops are deployed for battle seven Aaronite priests, ceremonially clad in battle vestments, take up position between the lines; six are trumpeters, the other, the key spokesman, walks along the lines to encourage the men. (594)
- 7.12b-14a seven levites carrying rams' horns accompany the priests; three levitical officers precede the priests and levites.
- 7.14 - 9.7 details of trumpet signals given by the priests to arrange the fighting units and direct the battle.
- 10.2b-6a reproduction of speech-pattern (priest & officers) of Deuteronomy 20.
- 10.6b-8a quotation of Numbers 10.9 (with variants).
- 10.8b - 12.17 composite hymnic-prayer material.
- 13.1-2a introductory formula for blessing-and-curse ritual; participants are: (chief priest), priests, levites, elders of the Serekh.
- 13.2b-3 blessing text.
- 13.4-6 curse text.
- 13.7-end + 14.1 composite hymnic material.
- 14.2a after withdrawing from the battle area to the (forward) camp, the warriors sing the "hymn of return" (no text).
- 14.2b-4a the next morning they wash themselves and their clothes, return to the place of battle and sing (in unison) the hymn of thanksgiving; (note, no reference to priests in Col. 14).
- 14.4b-8a text of thanksgiving hymn.
- 14.8b-15 additional hymnic material.
- 15.4-5 in the presence of the priests, levites and warriors, the chief priest stands and reads "the prayer for the appointed time of battle" (+ reference to a war manual) and the thanksgiving; (no text).
- 15.5b-6a the chief priest arrays all the formations.

(Additional Note G)

- 15.6b-7 the priest appointed for battle walks along the lines to encourage the men.
- 15.8 - 16.1 text of his encouragement address.
- 16.2b-11a priests : trumpet signals.
- 16.11b-12 the chief priest stands in front of the army to address them at the critical point of the battle.
- 16.13 - 17.9 text of chief priest's (special) address.
- 17.10-15 priests : trumpet signals.
- 18.3b-4 priests : trumpet signals.
- 18.5-6 at sunset, chief priest, priests, levites, commanders and men stand (at the place of battle) and bless God (in unison).
- 18.6-13 text of thanksgiving (lines 6-9); lines 9end-13 comprise a battle prayer & appeal for divine intervention.
- 19.1-8 same text as 12.6-15 with some variants.
- 19.9-11a in the morning they return to the battle-lines and find the enemy slain (by God).
- 19.11b-12a at the place of battle, the chief priest, his deputy, priests, levites, commanders and men, bless God; (no text).
- 19.12b-13 they return to the place of battle and praise God; (no text).

V The concept of Yahweh as divine warrior.

Of prime importance for the fundamental association of the Qumran War Scroll with the tradition-history of holy war is the Scroll's definite portrayal of the warrior activity of God. The concept of Yahweh as warrior is supported by a substantial amount of evidence. As in the Old Testament, various epithets are used to characterise the God of war. One passage which effectively combines many of the relevant epithets with a high literary and poetic quality may be quoted in full :

"And Thou, O God, art terrible in the glory of Thy majesty, and the congregation of Thy holy ones are amongst us for eternal alliance, and we (OR, they) shall render scoffing unto kings, scorn and derision unto mighty men, for the Lord is holy, and the King of Glory is with us, a people of saints; mighty men and a host of angels are among those mustered with us, the Mighty One of war is in our congregation, and the host of His spirits is with our steps, and our horsemen are like rain-clouds and like clouds of dew covering the earth, and like a showery storm watering with judgment all that spring from her. Arise, O mighty One, take Thy captives, O man of glory, and take Thy booty, Thou who dost valiantly. Place Thy hand upon the neck of Thine enemies, and Thy foot upon the bodies of the slain. Crush the nations, Thine adversaries, and let Thy sword devour the guilty flesh. Fill Thy land with glory and Thine inheritance with blessing: a multitude of cattle in Thy portions, silver and gold and precious stones in Thy palaces".

1 QM 12.6-12a (19.1-5a)

The designation of God as "the Mighty One of war" (גבור המלחמה [מה] 12.8a) is especially reminiscent of the holy war tradition and may well have its origin in ancient Hebrew war poetry (vide supra p 53). In 12.9a God is again characterised as a "mighty one" (גבור).

This aspect of the warrior God is further indicated in such expressions as :

"man of glory"	איש גבור	12.9b
"the King of Glory"	מלך הכבוד	12.7; cf Ps 24.7-10
"King of Kings"	מלך המלכים	14.16 (restored after 4QM)
"our glorious one"	אדירנו	19.1 (595).

(For the concept of Yahweh as king, vide supra pp 53f).

A possible reference to the "terrible" God (12.6, Yadin's restoration) may reflect an Old Testament motif which is frequently

found in the context of war (cf supra pp 54foot-55 and note (271)). The phrase **וְהוּא אֱלֹהֵי הַרוּחִים**, "the host of His spirits" (12.8) is readily reminiscent of the ancient concept of Yahweh's heavenly armies, and of His commanding of the cosmic hosts (cf supra pp 48f). Yadin notes that in common with the usage of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, the Scroll uses the term **מַלְאָכָיו** as a synonym for "angels" (596).

The cosmic forces are described elsewhere in the Scroll as :

- "the host of luminaries" 10.11b
- "host(s) of angels" 12.1, 4b, 7b
- "the congregation of Thy holy ones" 12.6 .

In this connection, we may also note the designation "God of angels" **אֱלֹהֵי הַמַּלְאָכִים** (597), 14.16; 18.6 (the identical epithet appears in Daniel 11.36).

With these references we may compare the holy war appellation "Yahweh of Hosts" (cf supra pp 52f).

Evident in the Scroll are certain aspects of divine activity in battle which have their origin and setting in the holy war tradition. Specific statements indicate that God is to fight, and that He will utterly destroy the enemy (598).

Many of the Scroll's unique battle-inscriptions further illustrate the decisive intervention of God (599). Especially noteworthy in the content of such inscriptions is the emphasis on divine wrath, vengeance, and judgment, which are prominent motifs in the prophetic oracles against the nations (cf supra pp 59,155).

The portrayal of God as a warrior is also indicated in references to His taking captives and spoil (10.1b-2a; 12.9b-10a, 11-12a).

A possible link with the injunction of the ancient Song of the Ark is apparent in 1 QM 12.9 : "Arise, O mighty one" (**קוּמָה גִּבּוֹר** cf Nu 10.35 : **קוּמָה יְהוָה**). Along with a similar phrase in 14.16 (**וְהוּא אֱלֹהֵי הַרוּחִים**), we find the addition of a parallel imperative : "... and raise Thyself in power" (**וְהוּא אֱלֹהֵי הַרוּחִים**). In the term **עָלָה**, the Scroll may have preserved a linguistic link with the Ark tradition (G.H. Davies has suggested that some occurrences of **עָלָה** in the Book of Psalms may refer to the Ark (600)). The appeal for divine action in the imperatives "Arise" and "Awake" has been noted above (p 18).

In line with the same terminology and concept, the appeal for divine intervention is also evident in the unique petition which we find in 1 QM 18.9end-10 :

"To-day appear (נִפְּגַלְתָּ) Thou to us in light of perfection and show us the hand of Thy mercies"

In the dramatic language of Deuteronomy 33.2 the Hiph'il of the verb נִפְּגַלְתָּ is used to describe Yahweh's advance into battle as "shining forth from Mount Paran". Significant use of the imperative is also attested in Psalms 80.2 and 94.1 (the battle imagery is also evident in these appeals for divine aid). With the Scroll petition we may also compare Psalm 50.2 .

Reference has already been made (supra p 171 and note (577)) to the occurrence in the Scroll of one of the fundamental concepts of the ancient holy war tradition, namely, that God delivers the enemy into the hand of His people (thus, 1 QM 11.2,13).

The essential role of the deity in battle is more explicitly expressed in frequent references to the hand of God, especially in the context of the ultimate destruction of the forces of Belial (1 QM 1.14; 11.1,11; 13.13,14; 15.13; 18.1,3,10). The terminology is also present in some of the Scroll inscriptions (3.8; 4.3,7). The concept that the hand of God is instrumental in bringing about the defeat of the enemy is prominent in the ancient holy war tradition, in the prophetic oracles, and in the Day of Yahweh tradition (cf supra note (288)).

With the "hand of God" motif we may compare similar references to God's "might" (גִּבּוֹרָה) (601).

The ancient concept of God sending His "panic" upon the enemy is evident in two instances (1.5; 11.18), and is also present in the form of a banner inscription (4.7b) (cf supra p 54 and note (270)).

Divine participation in battle is further indicated in the explicit mention of the "sword of God" (12.10b-11a = 19.4b; 15.3b; 16.1; 19.11) Note the significant quotation of Isaiah 31.8 in 1 QM 11.11-12 :

"Then shall Asshur fall with the sword not of man, and the sword, not of men, shall devour him".

The compound term סַבְּלָה (1 QM 15.3b; 19.11) is especially interesting.

The "sword of Yahweh" is a particularly important war motif in the prophetic oracles (602).

In the Old Testament the thematic climax of the holy war tradition is expressed in the motif "the battle is the Lord's" (1 Sam 17.47; cf 2 Chr 20.15). The theme is variously presented in the Scroll, and appears in several significant passages.

In the context of prayer for divine help we read : "Thine is the battle" (11.1a,2b,4b). As part of the characteristic holy war exhortation to fight bravely we find the injunction : "Be courageous and strong for the battle of God" (15.12). The stereotyped phrase "the battle of God" forms the inscription on one of the battle banners (4.12), and appears again in 9.5 (note also Yadin's restoration in 6.16). In the prayer at the climax of the battle the assertion is made : "... in Thy hand is the battle" (18.12; cf Yadin's restoration, "Thy battle" in 18.11). With the phrase "the wars of Thy hands" (11.8) we may compare "the wars of Yahweh" (1 Sam 18.17; 25.28).

It must be noted that the taking up of this theme in the Scroll neither diminishes nor excludes the reality or the necessity of human warrior participation in the eschatological battle.

In the ancient holy war tradition God is consistently portrayed as the author and giver of victory (603).

In the Scroll, this basic concept is taken up into the theological and spiritualised theme of God's salvation (13.13; 14.5; cf 10.8a) and eternal redemption (15.1b; 18.10). Indeed, God's salvation is synonymous with the victory in the eschatological war.

Divine intervention is indirectly evident in the Scroll's unique emphasis on the role of angels in battle.

References to the angelic battle-hosts (specifically in the context of the eschatological battle) are evident in the following passages :
1.10-11; 12.4b-5,6b,7b-8; 15.14; 17.6-7; 19.1b.

According to 9.14-16, the names of four angels are inscribed on the shields of the "towers". Yadin (604) considers this to imply that the four angels lead these tactical units.

As the chief protagonist, Michael receives some degree of prominence in the battle presentation (cf 9.14-16 and especially 17.6-7). At 13.10 Yadin (605) interprets the "Prince of Light" with reference to Michael. As prince and warrior, we may compare Michael's significant role in the Book of Daniel (Dan 10.13,21; 12.1; for Michael's part in the war in heaven, note also Rev 12.7). Osten-Sacken considers 1 QM 17.5b-8 to be a paraphrase of

Daniel 12.1 and its context, and draws attention to the new cosmic and transcendental presentation of 17.5b-8 over against Col. 1 (606).

The role of the "angel of Yahweh" is well attested in the ancient holy war tradition of the Old Testament (vide supra, note (280)).

The War Scroll is more specific, however, not only in presenting a vast army of angels but in emphasising their decisive participation in battle. There can be no doubt that vis-à-vis the tradition-history of holy war, the Scroll's angelology presents a definite revival of an element of the ancient tradition, the prime example of which we find in Judges 5.20 ("From heaven they fought; the stars in their courses fought against Sisera" — cf supra p 48). For our consideration of 1 QM, the Song of Deborah is of particular relevance insofar as it combines in its concept of battle, divine intervention (Ju 5.4-5), the support of angelic or cosmic hosts (ibid v 20), and human action (ibid vv 2,12,14-15,18,24-27). Similarly, in the Scroll, it is significant that angelic participation (as indeed, divine intervention) does not exclude human warrior activity. Apart from God's exclusive intervention in the seventh stage of the eschatological battle (607), the Sons of Light themselves fight under the guidance and by the power of God (for the emphasis on real fighting, vide supra pp 136f). A remarkable and succinct statement in 1 QM 6.6b (similarly 16.1) illustrates the essential relation of divine intervention and human participation in battle :

"He shall do valiant deeds through the saints of His people". The concept would seem to correspond exactly with a statement in Psalm 60.13 (EVV 12) (= Ps 108.14 (EVV 13)), which effectively epitomises the essence of the divine-human relation in the holy war tradition of ancient Israel :

"Through God we shall do valiantly,

For He is the one who will trample down our enemies".

The close association of divine and human agency in battle is depicted even more clearly in the Scroll's references to the cosmic hosts. For battle, uniquely in the Scroll, angels and human warriors form a united fighting force. Significantly, they are said to be "in communion" (7D^a) (1.10-11; 7.6; 12.4).

Details in 12.4-8 are especially explicit with reference to divine-human co-operation in the eschatological battle.

Thus we read :

".... to muster the hosts of Thine elect by their thousands and their myriads together with Thy holy ones and the host of Thine angels for strength of hand in battle" 12.4-5a

".... the congregation of Thy holy ones are amongst us for eternal alliance" 12.6

".... the King of Glory is with us, a people of saints; mighty men and a host of angels are among those mustered with us, the Mighty One of war is in our congregation, and the host of His spirits is with our steps" 12.7-8

Yadin interprets the references in 12.1-4 to mean that "the elect of the holy people are in heaven together with the angels", and further considers that the elect are "former earth-dwellers now in heaven" (608). Line 2, however, indicates that it is the names and number of the elect which are with God in heaven; (for the concept in 1 Enoch, vide supra note (535)). The reference may therefore be to a heavenly enrolment or enlistment of those destined for the battle of God. That an earthly battle is envisaged is confirmed by the references to the mustering of the hosts of angels and men (lines 4,7-8; cf 15.14-15).

Summary of holy war tradition-elements in 1 QM

It will be useful at this point to summarise briefly the positive features and developments in the Qumran War Scroll in relation to the Old Testament presentation of holy war.

(The summary outline corresponds to the sub-sections of PART THREE).

I Aspects of war practice

In the War Scroll, despite elaborate details of an apparently vast and well equipped military force, vestiges are apparent of a more primitive army-structure and of a more ancient battle-practice.

Conscription and mobilisation

The structure of the army presented in 1 QM 2.6b-8a,10a indicates a militia force formed on the basis of tribal conscription and mobilised as required according to a system of annual levies.

In addition, the Scroll provides several examples of ancient conscriptional terminology.

Tactics and practice

Attack strategy

The strategy, evident in the Old Testament, of engaging and disrupting the enemy's line by means of a relatively small force, and retaining the main body of the army for the purpose of the pursuit and final rout of the enemy, may possibly be part of the battle tactics outlined in 1 QM 2-9 (cf 5.3-4,15-end; 6.1-6; 7.14 - 9.4a,4b-7a). A similar situation is presented in Cols. 1; 15-19.

Perhaps it is in connection with this strategy that the Scroll envisages the use of ambush tactics (9.17; note also the references to pursuit, 9.5a,6b; 18.2,11; and the specific mention of ambush and pursuit trumpets, 3.1b-2,8b-9; 7.12; 9.6a).

Herem

The use of the term *ḥrm* as a substantive (9.7) and as a verb (18.5) may point to a revival of the ancient holy war concept of *herem*.

/ Booty

Booty

In contrast to the Old Testament, the Scroll gives no indication of the ancient practice of consigning war booty to the deity. On the other hand, from the point of view of practical warfare, 1 QM 7.2 indicates the existence of a special service-corps responsible for stripping the slain and collecting booty.

Trumpets

One of the most notable features of the Scroll is the development of an elaborate system of signalling-trumpets. Again, however, there are indications of a more primitive system, and of positive links with Old Testament concepts and practice.

The Old Testament provides two spheres of influence which have an undoubted bearing on the origin and use of the Qumran trumpets, namely, the priestly ceremonial אִרְצֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ (Nu 10.1-10), and the $\text{קוֹרְאֵי הַמִּלְחָמָה}$ of the ancient Hebrew war tradition.

In keeping with the sacerdotal emphasis in the Scroll (and in line with the law of Nu 10.8) the אִרְצֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ signalling trumpets are in the hands of Aaronite priests. In addition, the specific designation "trumpets of remembrance" (1 QM 7.12; 16.2b-3a; 18.4a) embodies the theological concept expressed in Numbers 10.9.

A unique feature in the Scroll's portrayal of battle is the combined use of trumpets and horns. The use of the latter presents a revival of the ancient holy war practice. In the envisaged battle the horns have an important tactical role in the critical opening phase of the fighting (8.9-11a, 15, 19-20; 16.6b-7; 17.13-14a). Their primary purpose is to "melt the heart of the enemy" (8.10).

Battle shout

The close association of trumpet-call and battle shout (הַקֹּל הַזֶּה) in the Scroll represents a significant revival of Old Testament war practice. Note, in this connection the specific designation of trumpets as $\text{קוֹרְאֵי הַמִּלְחָמָה}$ (2.15; 7.12; cf 3.1b).

Much of the literary material incorporated into Scroll inscriptions may have developed from the ancient battle-cry.

(The practice of addressing the warriors before battle is an essential element in the Scroll's literary presentation. This will be noted in the wider context of war liturgy).

II War regulations

In connection with the revival of warrior asceticism, we note especially that the Scroll takes up the Deuteronomic war code regulations for camp purity (Dt 23.10-15 (EVV 9-14)). Considerable modification, however, is apparent and several unique features are presented.

Especially significant are the unique age-limits for servicemen, the specific exclusion of young boys and women, and the exclusion of categories of permanent physical defects or disabilities.

In the taking up of the regulations for camp purity, the Scroll uses the technical cultic terminology of Deuteronomy 23.10,11 (לֵב נָקִי , 1 QM 7.7; לֵב טָהוֹר , 1 QM 7.6a).

An important modification of the Deuteronomic concept is evident. In Deuteronomy 23.11-12 the man who has a nocturnal emission is excluded from the camp for the whole of the next day. According to 1 QM 7.6, the man who has a sexual impurity is debarred from the battle; in effect he is confined to camp. The Scroll has applied the Deuteronomic regulation for camp purity to the battle situation.

With reference to camp latrines, the Scroll (with Dt 23.13) uses the term "hand" to designate the place. Again, however, a unique feature is apparent in that the Scroll stipulates an actual distance between camp and latrine (7.6b-7a).

Designation of the cultic warrior

The Scroll provides two significant examples of the use of לֵב נָקִי in its description of the warriors as "volunteers for battle" (7.5b) and as "willing-hearted" (10.5). The expressions recall the use in the Old Testament of the Hithpa'el of the verb נָקַד as a technical term for warrior consecration (Ju 5.2,9; Ps 110.3; 2 Chr 17.16). The cultic connotation of this terminology in the Scroll is supported by the additional description of the warriors as "perfect in spirit and flesh" (1 QM 7.5). Here we perceive another unique feature in the Scroll insofar as the concept of cultic fitness (associated with the term טָהוֹר) is for the first time applied to warrior qualification.

III Moralistic and theological overtones.

Designation of the enemy

The characterisation of the enemy as wicked provides a definite link with an aspect of the tradition-history of holy war developed by the classical prophets, especially in their oracles against the nations.

In addition, significant cultic overtones are discernible in the Scroll's denigration of the enemy.

A notable innovation in the Scroll is the use of the term "Belial" as a nomen proprium denoting the leader of the opposing forces.

Designation of the faithful

Various epithets in the Scroll characterise the faithful as a spiritual elite, the elect people of God.

Special use is made of the term גורל to designate both the faithful and the enemy. In this term we may detect a vestige of the ancient practice of lot-casting.

Noteworthy also is the use of גורל to designate the seven phases of the eschatological battle (1 QM 1.13; 17.16; 18.1). Here we may discern a link with the custom of oracular enquiry before battle (cf especially, Ju 20.18,23,27f).

The War Scroll provides some evidence of the concept of the faithful as a "covenant-people". A unique phrase is found in the context of a pre-battle address where the elect are described as "a people of covenant-saints" (עם קדושי ברית, 10.10). The similar expression בני ברית (17.8b), is also unique to the Scroll.

Osten-Sacken sees a close connection between the dualistic (light/darkness) motif and the terminology of Old Testament eschatology, more especially that of the Day of Yahweh tradition.

There is evidence in 1 QM for the designation of the warriors as קדושים, "holy ones", "saints". Significant in 1 QM 6.6 (16.1), 10.10; 12.7 is the addition of the word "people" to the term "holy ones". Here we may compare the extended phrase in Daniel 7.27: "the people of the saints of the Most High".

Moralistic and theological interpretation of the war

Moralistic and theological overtones which are associated originally and fundamentally with the tradition-history of holy war, present themselves in various aspects of the Scroll's battle presentation.

Especially important is the consistent presentation of the motifs of God's anger, judgment, vengeance and retribution.

The characterisation of the day of battle takes up essential motifs from the prophetic oracles against the nations and the Day of Yahweh tradition.

In one point a change of emphasis is evident in the Scroll's use and application of the moralistic categories. In the Scroll, God's anger, judgment and vengeance are directed solely against the enemies of His chosen people.

As in Daniel 12.1 the battle is described as "a time of trouble" (1 QM 1.11b-12; cf 10.17-18; 15.1).

For one critical aspect of the battle, namely, the problem of casualties among the Sons of Light, the Scroll provides theological explanations (16.9b). The use of the term **נָפַל** with reference to the deaths of the faithful is especially important. A more explicit explanation of casualties is indicated in the concept of "testing". The significant innovation in the Scroll is that God's "mysteries" and "wonders" are applied to the suffering of the elect.

A leading theme in the Scroll's portrayal of the eschatological battle is the concept that the conflict has been pre-ordained by God. Frequent use is made of the substantive **מִנְעָה** to describe the battle as the "appointed time" of God. The same term is used in the Book of Daniel to denote the eschatological time.

IV Battle address and war liturgy

The presentation of a thorough-going battle-liturgy is one of the most outstanding features in the War Scroll, and one which high-lights the Scroll's equally unique sacerdotal emphasis. P.R. Davies (supra p 160) describes 1 QM 7.7 - 9.9 as a battle rule for priests. F.M. Cross characterises the War Scroll as "a liturgy of Armageddon" (609). Priestly function predominates. Battle signals are given by the priests with their ceremonial trumpets. Overall control is the prerogative of the chief priest. He and a specially appointed priest are responsible for the battle-speeches. A considerable role is also assigned to levitical officers and levitical horn-blowers.

Sufficient evidence presents itself in the Scroll to indicate the use of the formal battle-speech in the manner and with the characteristic terminology, concepts and motifs of the ancient holy war tradition. Essential elements of the prophetic tradition are also

taken up.

The speech-pattern of Deuteronomy 20.1-9, comprising an address by the priest followed by an address by the officers, is represented in outline in 1 QM 10.2-8.

While the priest's address (Dt 20.2-4) is reproduced almost verbatim in the Scroll (10.2b-4), the content of the officers' address (i.e. the permitted exemptions, Dt 20.5-7) is completely omitted, and only a brief allusion is made to the dismissal of the fainthearted (Dt 20.8 : 1 QM 10.6a).

Brief but significant references to a priestly rubric for cursing Belial and the spirits of his lot (1 QM 13.1b-2a,4-5) indicate the possible revival of the ancient practice of cursing the enemy before battle.

Consonant with the sacerdotal and liturgical development in the Scroll, is the inclusion of an impressive body of hymnic and liturgical material — all of it composite and originally independent, and much of it probably from Maccabaeae sources. This material, contained mainly in Cols. 10-14, comprises pre-battle hymns (incorporating praise, prayer and appeal to God), and post-battle hymns of thanksgiving. Most of the motifs and concepts expressed in this material have their origin in the holy war tradition.

Over against the notable liturgical emphasis in 2 Chronicles 20 a significant innovation is evident in the Scroll, insofar as the pronounced sacerdotal and liturgical presentation does not exclude human warrior activity.

V The concept of Yahweh as divine warrior

Of signal importance for the association of 1 QM with the tradition-history of holy war is the Scroll's portrayal of God as the divine warrior.

A considerable amount of textual evidence provides positive links with the descriptions of Yahweh and His heavenly armies in ancient Hebrew war-poetry, with the presentation of Yahweh's warrior-action in Old Testament war narratives, and with the ultimate conceptual presentation of Yahweh as Lord of war in the prophetic (oracles against the nations) and Day of Yahweh tradition.

The Old Testament theme "the battle is the Lord's" is also variously presented in the Scroll.

Most notably, as a development of the prophetic apocalyptic tradition, the Scroll's presentation reaches its climax in the depiction of a battle of cosmic dimension and eschatological consequence.

The heavenly armies of ancient Hebrew war-poetry and the figure of Yahweh's destroying angel receive a distinct revival and an unparalleled extension in the Scroll's portrayal of the angelic battle-hosts.

A unique feature of the cosmic battle is that human participation is not excluded. Real fighting is envisaged. The significant feature here is a combined fighting force of men and angels.

Finally, a general comment may be appended regarding the relation of the holy war tradition, its concepts and its practices, to the life and organisation of the community.

It has been seen that elements of the holy war tradition have a considerable influence throughout the Old Testament.

It may well be that the War Scroll exercised a similar influence within the Qumran community. Osten-Sacken makes special reference to the war concepts of 1 QM as the background of the theology and organisation of the Qumran community (610).

PART FOUR

MACCABAEAN WARFARE AND THE QUMRAN BATTLE SCROLL

Introduction

General considerations

In the last two chapters essential aspects of the holy war tradition have been discussed in relation to First and Second Maccabees and 1 QM respectively. Having established the taking up of the holy war tradition by the writers of First and Second Maccabees and by the compiler of the War Scroll, it now remains to re-examine the evidence for demonstrable links between the Maccabaeen writings and 1 QM. In particular, the question arises as to whether the historical situation in the Maccabaeen/Hasmonaeen period may be reflected in certain aspects of the Scroll's emphasis and development. In this connection, three tentative observations may indicate the line and purpose of the discussion which is to follow.

Firstly, practical aspects of Maccabaeen warfare (as presented in First and Second Maccabees) high-light essential elements of the ancient war tradition, and serve to underline and accentuate the presentation of the same elements in 1 QM.

Secondly, where elements of the ancient war tradition are taken up in First and Second Maccabees and in 1 QM, the ultimate origin must clearly be the Old Testament. At the same time, the relative proximity of the Maccabaeen historical situation may have exerted an intensifying influence on the literary and ideological presentation of 1 QM. More especially, where the Scroll shows extension, development, or elaboration of original Old Testament holy war tradition elements it is reasonable to look for a more direct link in a contemporary or nearly contemporary historical situation. Such a link may be provided in the politico-religious crisis of the Maccabaeen Revolt and in the resurgence of Jewish military power under the later Hasmonaeen princes.

Thirdly, the taking up and transmission of Old Testament traditional material presupposes (and indeed requires) the existence of a circle or movement concerned for the preservation and promulgation of such material. Accordingly, it is suggested that the principal bearers of the holy war tradition were the

Hasidaean warriors of the Maccabaeen Revolt and their immediate successors in the post-Maccabaeen or Hasmonaeen era.

To the question of historical connection Davies and Osten-Sacken in particular address themselves. Davies bases his findings on a thorough literary analysis of the War Scroll. The main concern of Osten-Sacken is to trace the sources and examine the development of the dualistic tradition in the Qumran writings. Relevant points from the studies of both writers may now be indicated.

The literary strata of 1 QM

The composite nature of 1 QM has been recognised by most writers with the notable exception of Y. Yadin. There is, however, only general agreement in the detailed analysis of the literary strata. The most extensive literary analysis of the War Scroll to date is contained in the work of P.R. Davies (1 QM, the War Scroll from Qumran : Its Structure and History, 1977). The importance of Davies' study for our present discussion is his conclusion that much of the literary material in the Scroll has its source and background in the Maccabaeen and post-Maccabaeen period. Although other writers have made similar suggestions (611), Davies has laid a firmer foundation for this view by his careful and detailed examination of the literary strata of the Scroll. Of particular importance is the general principle which he states on page 20 of his book :

"a thorough appreciation of the literary history of the Qumran documents is an indispensable prerequisite to any profound investigation of the history and theology of the sect which produced and preserved them".

A brief summary of Davies' indications of Maccabaeen and Hasmonaeen sources for various sections of the Scroll may be conveniently noted here.

In the main, two major documents, each in itself a compilation, are to be distinguished: these are Cols. 2-9 and 15-19.

Davies considers 2-9 to be a Hasmonaeen war manual written immediately after the Maccabaeen wars and characterised by a predominantly nationalistic tone and strongly influenced by Numbers 1 - 10.10 (612). Important parallels between Cols. 2-9 and Maccabaeen warfare are noted which indicate an original Maccabaeen setting for most of the material in these Columns (613)

Cols. 15-19, it is suggested, are based on an original Maccabaeen war rule drastically revised at a much later period (the period of the Roman occupation of Palestine) and given a pronounced

dualistic and eschatological character (614).

Column 1, which Davies considers to be largely redactional and to represent the latest stage of the Scroll's development (615), summarises the final war and serves as an introduction to the whole Scroll (616). Davies also suggests that Col. 1 might be a revision of the first six years of the forty years' war of Col. 2 (617).

In the remaining columns, two thanksgiving hymns (14.4b-8a and 14.8b-12) and a collection of hymns and prayers (Cols. 10-12) show considerable Maccabaeian influence (618). Davies considers Col. 14 (specifically lines 2-12a) to be an earlier recension of the war rule of Cols. 15-19, and Maccabaeian in origin (619). The situation presented in the hymn 14.8b-12a especially reflects the persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes (620).

For Col. 13 Davies suggests an original Sitz im Leben as a blessing-and-curse ritual with no war connection (621).

Relevant points from the work of P. von der Osten-Sacken (Gott und Belial, 1969) may now be summarised.

Column 1 (to which Osten-Sacken devotes a great deal of attention) is taken as a self-contained whole and considered to be an eschatological-dualistic war-plan (622) of great age (623). Furthermore, Osten-Sacken sees 1.11-15 as the framework of Cols. 15-19 (624).

The relation of Col. 1 to the Book of Daniel and to elements of the holy war tradition (especially the concept of the Day of Yahweh) is discussed in some detail (625). A significant point is that the eschatology of Daniel (Dan 11.40-45; 21.1) is modified in 1 QM 1 by the active role of the human warriors (626).

Osten-Sacken construes 1 QM 2.1-14 as a second battle-plan (for the end-war) according to Col. 1 (627).

In contrast to Davies and Becker, Osten-Sacken considers the blessing-and-curse formula in 1 QM 13.1-6 to have a definite connection with the eschatological battle (628).

A detailed comparison of the war-ordinances in 1 QM 7.9 - 9.9; 14.2ff; 15-19 indicates that they are based on a common formula (629). Osten-Sacken further sees in 1 QM 10.1-8a the proto-cell of these rules (630).

With the war-ordinances of 1 QM Osten-Sacken compares certain

elements in the description of the Mizpah assembly and the ensuing battle of Emmaus (1 M 3.38 - 4.35) (631).

Unlike Davies, Osten-Sacken does not consider the possibility of written sources for 1 QM in the Maccabaeen/Hasmonaeen period. Yet he maintains that the war-ordinances of 1 QM have as their background the historical practice and experience of Maccabaeen warfare (632), and, more specifically, that the ordinances are formed from Maccabaeen war-practice and "originate from that time" (633). Moreover, Osten-Sacken discounts the possibility of direct derivation from the Maccabaeen movement (634), ascribing the war-ordinances of 1 QM to Jews who had separated themselves from the Maccabees (635), and, in a more specific statement, to "the forerunners of the Qumran community who had broken away from the Maccabaeen movement some twenty years before the appearance of the Teacher of Righteousness" (636). More significantly, Hasidaean circles are suggested as the bearers of the war tradition (637).

Further observations

Of fundamental importance for our understanding of the literary components of 1 QM (and indeed, of the character of the envisaged war) is the clear distinction in presentation between the two main parts of the Scroll. On the one hand (Cols. 2-9) there is the idealistic portrayal of a forty years' war of all Israel against the nations, and on the other hand (Cols. 15-19), an eschatological one-day battle waged by God and His angels and the Sons of Light against the armies of Belial. In Cols. 2-9, as Davies notes, the influence of Numbers 1 - 10.10 is apparent. There is also a considerable emphasis on the purely military aspect. In Cols. 15-19 the influence of apocalypticism is predominant (represented, for example, by the Book of Daniel, Ezekiel 38-39, and especially by the Day of Yahweh concept).

Accordingly, if it is accepted that much of the literary material in the Scroll originates in the Maccabaeen/Hasmonaeen period, we may ask if the two distinct presentations of the war are themselves in some measure a reflection of the period of literary origins. It may be reasonable to suppose that some historical basis is required to account for the two distinct trends juxtaposed in the compilation of the War Scroll. Significantly, in the Maccabaeen/Hasmonaeen period we can in fact distinguish between the initial campaigns of the Revolt, culminating in the restoration of the Temple (Temple

worship is assumed during the course of the forty years' war according to 1 QM 2.1-6a), and the politically motivated wars of the Hasmonaeen princes. It is also pertinent to note that after religious freedom was achieved the Hasidaeans withdrew their support from Judas Maccabaeus and attempted to conciliate with Alcimus (1 M 7.12-16). It is not entirely inconceivable therefore that the concept of an aggressive war of Israel against the nations might correspond to the aims and policies of the Hasmonaeans, and that the eschatological battle of the Sons of Light might reflect the more spiritual hopes and ideals, as well as the apocalyptic vision of hasidic warrior circles.

Furthermore, taking the War Scroll as a whole, it is clear that for the final compiler (and presumably also for the original bearers of the eschatological tradition) the principal concern is the eschatological battle. This is certainly the climax of the account, and, it would seem, the main purpose of the compilation. A difficulty, therefore, is raised if we accept the views of Yadin and Davies to the effect that the great battle (resulting in the final defeat of the Kittim) coincides with the first six years of the forty years' war (638). In view of the two distinct aspects of the war presented in the Scroll, we may question in general the attempt to associate the eschatological one-day battle with any phase of the forty years' war. To suggest in particular that the eschatological battle takes place in the initial stages of the forty years' war, and thus to envisage twenty-nine years of fighting subsequent to the "end-event", is somewhat unrealistic, and contradicts the main theme and emphasis of the Scroll. The eschatological event, characterised by prophetic and theological overtones and given a unique cosmic dimension, is clearly presented as a decisive and final battle, a veritable Armageddon, and it results not simply in the defeat and conquest of nations but principally in the destruction of wickedness and the complete annihilation of Belial and his powers of darkness (cf 1 QM 1.5-6,15; 13.15-16; 16.1 (cf also 15.15-end)). All that can surely happen after this event is a Messianic Age, a time of

"peace, blessing, glory and joy and long life
for all the Sons of Light".

(1 QM 1.9; 14.17)

We now proceed to a detailed examination of 1 QM in the light of the narratives of First and Second Maccabees.

Conscription and mobilisation

Elements of ancient holy war practice and procedure have been discussed with reference to the organisation of the Maccabaeae army (vide supra pp 94f) and the army of 1 QM (vide supra pp 126ff). Specifically, it has been noted that 1 QM 2.6b-8a,10a indicate a militia army formed on the basis of tribal conscription (supra p 126). Significantly, according to the narrative of the Mizpah assembly (1 M 3.44,55f), the Maccabaeae army is presented as a people's militia formed on the lines of the ancient cultic levy.

Of considerable importance in the Mizpah passage is the use of the term *συναγωγή* (1 M 3.44), which, as Davies notes, is probably equivalent here to the Hebrew *הַקָּהָל*, the cultic assembly of "all Israel".

In addition, the use of the term *λαός* in the phrase *ἡγουμένους τοῦ λαοῦ* ("army commanders", 1 M 3.55), recalls the similar use of the Hebrew *הַיְיָ וְעַמּוּ* as a designation of the people's militia in the ancient holy war tradition (vide supra pp 60,150).

A possible Maccabaeae connection is also apparent in the place-name *Ασδραμελ* (1 M 14.28). Although opinions differ as to the precise interpretation of the first part of the word, it is agreed that the last two syllables represent the Hebrew *לְעַמּוּ* (639).

A similar use of the terms *הַקָּהָל* and *עַמּוּ* is evident in 1 QM (640).

Another linguistic link with the ancient holy war tradition may be discerned in 1 M 3.13. Here the forces mustered by Judas are described as *ἐκπορευομένοις εἰς πόλεμον*, "fit for military service". F.-M. Abel (641) considers this to be a technical expression equivalent to the Hebrew *לְיָצֵא לְמִלְחָמָה* of Numbers 31.36. We may compare the frequent use of the phrase *לְיָצֵא לְמִלְחָמָה* in the census lists of the Book of Numbers (Nu 1 passim; 26.2; also 1 Chr 12.33,36). In the War Scroll, in the context of mobilisation, we find the use of similar terminology in the phrase *לְיָצֵא לְמִלְחָמָה* ("to go forth to (active) service", 1 QM 2.8).

Although the aforementioned references are essentially linked with the Old Testament war tradition, the correspondence between Maccabees and 1 QM on these points is noteworthy, and, rather than indicating simply the independent taking up of the ancient tradition, may to some extent be understood as implying that the character of the early

Maccabaeen militia and the cultic assembly at Mizpah have had some influence on the terminology of the War Scroll. (Aspects of the ritual procedure at Mizpah will be examined later).

Characteristic also of the ancient military levy is the organisation of the army into units of thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens. The list of battle-standards in 1 QM 4.1-5 attests this military grouping for the Qumran army (642). It is significant that the same ancient practice is revived by Judas Maccabaeus and presented in 1 M 3.55 as a unique feature of the Maccabaeen militia. Again, although this grouping is ultimately derived from the Old Testament, its practical revival in the war situation of the Maccabaeen period may have influenced the summary statements in the Scroll — more especially since the four numerical grades are not found together in a military context before 1 M 3.55 (vide supra p 95).

Battle tactics and strategy

Initial disruption of the enemy by a small force

The strategy (also evident in the Old Testament, cf supra p 23) of engaging and disrupting the enemy's line by means of a relatively small force, and holding the main body of the army in reserve for the pursuit and final rout of the enemy, may possibly be part of the battle tactics outlined in 1 QM 2-9. Here the initial engagement is fought essentially by successive assaults of "skirmishing" units operating through the lines of the heavier (front) infantry (cf 1 QM 5.3-4,15-end; 6.1-6; 7.14 - 9.4a). The purpose of the skirmishers is explicitly stated. They are to "vanquish the enemy's line" (6.5b-6a). The assault is to continue until the enemy is thrown into disorder (thus, 9.2). It is at this point that the main force joins battle to take up the pursuit with a view to the final annihilation of the enemy (9.4b-7a). In the presentation of the war in Cols. 1; 15-19, the same situation is indicated, although with less attention to military details. Here, only the skirmishers fight (1.14; 16.3-12; 17.10-end). In 18.2,11 there is, however, the same emphasis on the final pursuit — and, significantly, in the context of the total annihilation of the enemy.

As was remarked above (p 129), it is significant that behind the elaborate details of an apparently vast and well equipped army there should appear for the actual fighting a simple and (traditionally) more primitive battle strategy. In this connection Davies (643) notes that "the army of 1 QM 2-9 is in appearance a fully developed one, but it is not employed to proper effect". The suggestion in the last

part of Davies' statement would seem to overlook the strategy involved. The indications are that the Qumran army is to be used on the lines of the strategy evident in Old Testament battle narratives (i.e. Ju 7.2-8,23-25; 1 K 20.15,17,19-20; cf supra p 23). Furthermore, this prominent tactical detail in 1 QM may well be a definite link with the battle tactics of the early Maccabaeen armies. The procedure is especially clear from the description in 1 M 7.43-46 of the defeat of Nicanor's forces. Despite a lack of detail in the description of the initial engagement, it is clear that with three thousand men Judas puts the enemy to flight. For the pursuit, the initial task-force is augmented by militia contingents deployed in neighbouring villages. Davies rightly comments that this is not a spontaneous manoeuvre (644) — these contingents had taken up strategic positions and awaited the signal to outflank the enemy and thus cut off and contain the retreat.

Additional support for a connection between this historical episode and the proposed battle strategy of 1 QM is provided by the definite references to Scroll trumpets for signalling "pursuit" and "ambush" (1 QM 3.1b-2a,8b-9; for pursuit trumpets, note also 7.12; 9.6). It is noteworthy that elsewhere in the Maccabaeen narratives the pursuit and destruction of the enemy are presented as important features of the battles (cf : 1 M 3.24; 4.14f; 5.22; 9.15; 11.72ff; 16.8f; 2 M 8.25; 12.23; note also the trumpets that signal the attack in 1 M 4.13; 9.13; 16.8).

Ambush tactics

Significant references to ambush tactics are found in the Maccabaeen reports (1 M 9.40; 10.79f; 11.68f; for general surprise attack, cf : 1 M 5.28,43; 2 M 8.6f; 13.15ff).

Apart from a reference in the broken end of Col. 9, this strategy is not explicitly mentioned in the Scroll but may be assumed from other evidence. Positive references to ambush trumpets (3.2a,8b) make it clear that the Qumran battle rule (and possibly the older manual underlying the Qumran rule) provided for ambush tactics. Furthermore, the close association in the War Scroll of the ambush trumpets with those of "the slain" and "pursuit" (3.8-9), together with the provision of an inscription for the ambush trumpets clearly expressive of their particular use ("Mysteries of God for the perdition of wickedness", 3.9a), may indicate the practical necessity of ambush or outflanking tactics in connection with the final pursuit and annihilation of the enemy. Again, the strategy employed by Judas Maccabaeus (1 M 7.43-46) provides pertinent and realistic comparison.

Herem

It has been noted (supra p 129) that the use of the term זָרָה as substantive (1 QM 9.7) and verb (18.5) may reflect the ancient war practice of ritual slaughter of the enemy. A more specific reference to the sacral rite of herem is found in 1 M 5.5 (vide supra p 106). Here F.-M. Abel rightly interprets ἀναθεματίζειν as the equivalent of the Hiph'il of זָרָה (645).

The less formal references in the Scroll may indicate a reflection of Maccabaeian practice rather than the deliberate taking up of the ancient holy war rite or of the idealistic and theological presentation of the Book of Deuteronomy (for the latter, cf supra pp 30f, 123f, & note (425)). Again, and from the point of view of war practice, the emphasis in the Scroll on the complete annihilation of the enemy (cf supra p 129 & note (482)) may be compared with the practical carrying out of herem-slaughter in the Maccabaeian situation (1 M 5.28, 35, 51).

Booty

In common with the presentation of the wars in First and Second Maccabees, the Scroll gives no indication of the ancient holy war practice of consigning the war booty to the deity (for the varied presentation in the Old Testament, vide supra pp 31f) (646). A definite interest in booty is nevertheless apparent in the Scroll. Column 7 indicates that the army has a special service-corps responsible for stripping the slain and collecting booty (7.2). The existence of this special detachment may be regarded as a link with the legislation for the division of spoil in Numbers 31.27 (note especially, *ibid* v 50, and a similar ruling by David, 1 Sam 30.22-25). On the other hand, Maccabaeian war practice clearly indicates the appropriation of spoil by victorious warriors (vide supra p 124). M. Avi-Yonah notes the importance of spoil (especially the enemy's abandoned weapons) for the ill-equipped Maccabaeian armies (647). It must be acknowledged that Maccabaeian militia-armies have no special service-unit delegated to this task. It is not impossible, however, that such a unit might have been incorporated in the later, better equipped and more highly organised Hasmonaeian armies. Already in the Maccabaeian narratives two details indicate the need for some development and organisation in this regard. An incident recorded in 1 M 4.17-18 illustrates how premature and undisciplined gathering of booty might adversely affect the course of battle; accordingly, Judas warns his men to refrain until it is certain that the enemy has been completely defeated. Furthermore, in 2 M 8.28, 30 the division of the

spoils between service personnel and the needy of the civilian population, presupposes some organised system for the collection and distribution of booty. On balance, therefore, the innovation in 1 QM 7.2 (a service-unit for despoiling the slain and collecting booty) may well derive from Hasmonaean military practice.

Trumpets

The influence on the Scroll trumpets of the priestly (אִיִּזְחָן) tradition of Numbers 10.1-10, and of the Old Testament use of the ancient battle-horn, has been discussed (supra pp 130-134).

The literary presentation of trumpets and signals in 1 QM may also have been influenced by Maccabaeen war practice. Details in the Maccabaeen narratives, although not numerous, are nevertheless significant, in that they indicate the use of trumpets for tactical battle signals.

In the sequence of events at Mizpah, the sounding of trumpets (1 M 3.54) immediately after the penitential acts and supplication of God, and before the organisation of the militia into units and the appointment of commanders, is particularly instructive. The trumpet-call at this point may be understood as a signal for summoning the levy, and in the Mizpah context would also seem to have some affinity with the trumpet usage indicated in Numbers 10.1-10 (especially 10.9; cf supra p 96). Now, more particularly, we may draw a comparison with the signals for general mobilisation, summoning of chiefs and commanders, and organisation of units, which are listed in the Scroll (1 QM 2.15 - 3.4a) (cf Table A, supra pp 138f).

Furthermore, several passages in the Maccabaeen narratives indicate that the trumpets are used to signal the battle-attack (1 M 4.13b-14a - the sequel to the Mizpah assembly; 5.31,33 - for this passage, cf note (381); 9.(12),13; 16.8a). For the corresponding signals in the War Scroll, note again Table A.

Specific evidence of tactical signals is presented in 1 M 7.45. Nicanor's forces being in full retreat, the Jews sound the trumpets in the enemy's rear. This would seem to serve as a signal not only for the general pursuit by the main Jewish force, but, even more importantly, as the call to battle for men stationed in neighbouring villages so that they can assemble at strategic points and cut off the enemy's retreat. Reference has been made above (pp 202f.) to the importance of the tactical procedure indicated in 1 M 7.43-46 as a possible link with the basic battle strategy outlined in the War Scroll. Here it is important to note that the trumpet signal of 1 M 7.45 may well have influenced the significant inclusion of

pursuit and ambush signals (cf supra p 203) in the elaborate trumpet system of the Scroll.

Thus, to sum up, it is significant for the possible influence on 1 QM of the historical situation depicted in First Maccabees that Maccabaeian war practice (648) indicates at least three, and possibly five, distinct tactical trumpet signals :

summoning + battle shout (infra), 1 M 3.54;
battle-attack, 1 M 4.13b-14a; 5.31,33; 9.(12),13; 16.8a;
pursuit + ambush, 1 M 7.45 .

Without detracting from the essential influence of the Old Testament, it is reasonable to suggest that the practical use of trumpet signals in First Maccabees had some formative influence upon, and gave additional impetus to the more extensive formulation presented in the War Scroll. Moreover, if as Davies contends, a Hasmonaeian military manual underlies 1 QM 2-9, and Cols. 15-19 are similarly considered to be a development of an original Maccabaeian war rule, we may further suggest that the basic trumpet signals were already formulated in a war code for Hasmonaeian armies. Again, it is clear from the detailed presentation in the Scroll that the compiler is drawing from sources which accurately described war trumpets and their use, and in the light of Old Testament and Maccabaeian evidence it would seem unlikely that he was dependent for his basic material on sources outwith the Hebrew (and later Jewish) military tradition.

(For a comparative list of trumpet signals in the Old Testament, Maccabees, and 1 QM, see Table B, infra p 212).

Battle shout

It is of the greatest significance for our examination of the relation between Maccabaeian war practice and the trumpet system of the Scroll that in two instances the Maccabaeian trumpets are designated $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\pi\iota\gamma\gamma\epsilon\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \sigma\eta\mu\alpha\sigma\iota\omega\acute{\nu}$ (1 M 40.4; 7.45; vide supra pp 96f), which phrase is used by the Septuagint (649) to render the Hebrew $\הַשִּׁבְעִי הַשִּׁבְעִי$ (thus also 1 QM 7.12; cf ibid 3.1). The importance of the Maccabaeian evidence is to be found not only in the comparable (indeed, identical) designation and description of the trumpets, but more especially in the implication of the connotation of the phrase and its use in the historical situation of Maccabaeian warfare. It has been argued, with reference both to Old Testament and 1 QM usage (vide supra, p 29 (OT), pp 135f (QM)) that the phrase $\הַשִּׁבְעִי הַשִּׁבְעִי$ means in effect "trumpets

for signalling terū'ā " i.e. Battle-shout. This meaning is also presumably to be understood in the Greek of Maccabees. Thus, the description of the Maccabaeen trumpets as σάλπιγγες τῶν σηματοσιῶν is possibly indicative not only of their ancient origin and association, but also of their essential purpose, namely, to give the signal for the battle-shout.

It must be noted that the Greek term σάλπιγξ does not distinguish between horn and (ceremonial) trumpet. The phrase σάλπιγγες τῶν σηματοσιῶν, therefore, is our only clue to the type of instrument used by the Maccabaeen armies. Accordingly, we might assume that the Maccabees used the ancient ceremonial trumpets in their battles. (A note in Josephus would seem to support this point; vide supra p 97). On the other hand, it is possible that the more extensive evidence in the Scroll (sc. the combined use of horn and trumpet in battle) may throw more light on Maccabaeen practice. In view, however, of the lack of more concrete evidence in the Maccabaeen narratives themselves, the question as to whether the Maccabees used trumpets or horns (or indeed, both) in their wars cannot be positively resolved.

To return to the practical consideration of the battle-shout, we must again focus attention on the significant use of the terū'ā in battle, and, indeed, on the importance of noise as a disruptive and demoralising factor in battle strategy.

Particular reference has been made to a consistent and recurring feature, evident in the holy war tradition and in the War Scroll, namely, the direct association of trumpet-call and battle-shout (terū'ā) (vide supra pp 27f, 134ff).

Similar implications are apparent in First Maccabees, where the connection between trumpet-call and battle-shout is definite and deliberate (thus, 1 M 3.54; 4.40; 5.31,33). Furthermore, in the Maccabaeen presentation considerable emphasis is placed on the shout. It is described as a "great shout" (φωνὴ μεγάλη, 1 M 3.54 — Davies pertinently remarks that this is certainly the Old Testament הַצִּלְחָה (cf supra, note (384)).

In 1 M 5.31b we find the phrase κραυγὴ μεγάλη. This cry is specifically called κραυγὴ τοῦ πολέμου, according to a reading of 1 M 5.31a (cf supra, note (384)).

With these significant references in First Maccabees we may compare the following Old Testament phrases :

הַצִּלְחָה Josh 6.5,20

הַצִּלְחָה 2 Chr 20.19 (without trumpet reference)

/ הַצִּלְחָה

אֲרֻעַת גְּלֻחָהּ Jer 4.19end; 49.2a; cf 1 Sam 17.20end
 גְּלֻחָהּ בְּיָנִים גְּלֻחָהּ Am 1.14b
 קוֹל גְּלֻחָהּ Jer 50.22a ,

and the following references to the hornblowers' terū'ā in 1 QM :

קוֹל אַחֵר אֲרֻעַת מִלְחָמָה גְּדוּלָּה 8.10
 קוֹל אֲרֻעַת גְּדוּלָּה 8.15
 [אֲרֻעַת] ה' [מִלְחָמָה] קוֹל גְּדוּלָּה 16.7
 אֲרֻעַת מִלְחָמָה 17.13

Note also (without reference to trumpet or horn) the phrases :

בְּקוֹל הַבּוֹן גְּדוּלָּה וְאֲרֻעַת אֱלִים וְאֲנָשִׁים 1.11
 (possibly repeated in line 17)
 [בְּקוֹל הַבּוֹן גְּדוּלָּה] וְאֲרֻעַת קְדוּשִׁים 18.2

and the specific trumpet designations :

חֲזִירָה אֲרֻעַת הַחֲלָלִים 3.1
 חֲזִירָה אֲרֻעַת הַחֲלָלִים 7.12

The evidence would seem to point to a definite link between the battle-shout of the Scroll and a continuing tradition-history of Hebrew war practice. In this regard the Maccabaeae references are especially important insofar as the historical proximity of Maccabaeae war practice (albeit, in itself a revival of the ancient holy war) may be seen to provide a realistic and practical basis for the literary ideal presented in 1 QM.

That the relation between our three sources (OT : Macc : QM) is not merely a literary one (cf supra p 135), is also supported by the fact that a notable development of the original war tradition is evident in the later material. Thus, a significant innovation is apparent in 1 M 5.33 where the battle-shout (preceded by trumpet-call) takes the form of prayer. This development is confirmed in other Maccabaeae passages. Note the sequence in 1 M 4.39-41a : after acts of penitence, the Jews sounded the (terū'ā-) trumpets and "cried aloud to Heaven"; thereupon Judas detailed men to attack the Citadel garrison. The passage 2 M 15.25-27 is also illuminating. In contrast to Nicanor's forces, who advanced to the sound of trumpets and war-songs, Judas and his army

"engaged the hostiles with invocations and prayers. Thus, fighting with their hands and praying to God with their hearts, they killed no fewer than thirty-five thousand"

A further extension of the battle-shout tradition is evident in 2 M 12.36b-37 : after invoking the help of God, Judas

"raised the battle-cry (κραυγή) with hymns in his native tongue".

Clearly, the ancient הַלְלָה has become a battle-hymn! In this respect the Maccabaeae passage may be seen as a positive link with the unique liturgical emphasis evident in the Chronicler's work (cf supra pp 28f). Thus, according to 2 Chr 20.21-22a (cf ibid v 19), male cultic singers are appointed to precede the army of Jehoshaphat "shouting praise to Yahweh". Osten-Sacken maintains that the theory of holy war received this liturgical effect for the first time in 2 Chr 20 (650). More importantly, the Maccabaeae development may provide a closer historical link with the hymnic and liturgical material integrated into the War Scroll, especially since a substantial amount of this material has its essential setting in pre-battle praise, prayer, and appeal to God (651). Furthermore, in one crucial detail, the Maccabaeae presentation of battle agrees with the Scroll against 2 Chr 20. In the latter, a notable feature is the complete ritualising of the battle to the exclusion of human fighting: the liturgical singing of the cultic functionaries being followed immediately by Yahweh's decisive action against the enemy. In Maccabees and 1 QM, on the other hand, the liturgical emphasis does not exclude human warrior participation (vide infra pp 210f). Osten-Sacken considers that this striking agreement between Maccabees and the War Scroll can hardly be coincidental, and concludes that this agreement indicates the dependence of the Qumran war-rule on Maccabaeae warfare (652).

Thus, the Maccabaeae references discussed (1 M 5.33; 4.39-41a; 2 M 15.25-27; 12.36b-37) represent an essential historical link in the development of the ancient הַלְלָה tradition, and, along with frequent references to prayer and supplication (cf supra p 85), may be seen in some measure as an embryonic prototype of the extensive hymnic and liturgical presentation in 1 QM.

Battle-cry

In addition to the battle-shout (הַלְלָה), the earliest Old Testament sources provide some evidence of formally-worded battle-cries (cf supra p 28). No explicit reference to a formal battle-cry is recorded in 1 QM, but as we have observed above (p 136), much of the literary material incorporated in the numerous inscriptions for trumpets, banners, and weapons, could well have served as battle-cries — especially the stereotyped two-word inscriptions (the second term of which is always הַלְלָה) in form and content would seem to provide suitably terse and meaningful battle-cries (653) (cf Table C, infra p 213). From the point of view of battle practice, it is significant that two examples of Maccabaeae battle-slogans

(*συνθήματα*) show a marked similarity to two of the Scroll banner inscriptions. Thus, with *θεοῦ βοηθεία* ("Help of God", 2 M 8.23) we may compare *לַאֱלֹהִים* (1 QM 4.13) (654), and with *θεοῦ νίκη* ("Victory of God", 2 M 13.15) we may compare *לַאֱלֹהִים* (1 QM 4.13). This striking correspondence would seem to indicate a positive link between Maccabaeian war practice and the inscriptions in the Scroll, and furthermore, may help to explain the origin and development of Scroll inscriptions.

Real fighting

Certain aspects of human warrior activity presented in the Scroll (cf supra pp 136f) may reflect the historical events of the Maccabaeian/Hasmonaeian period.

In Col. 2 the portrayal (albeit, somewhat idealistic and theoretical) of a war of the tribes of Israel against the nations is entirely nationalistic in tone and envisages a completely human conflict without reference to divine aid or miraculous deliverance. From a purely literary point of view we may compare the tone of First Maccabees, where the emphasis is largely (but not entirely) on the heroic efforts of the Jewish armies. Although the writer of Second Maccabees presents on the whole a more spiritual portrayal of the Revolt, here also we find some isolated references to human warrior action. (For discussion of the Maccabaeian material, vide supra pp 114f, 121f).

From the point of view of a possible historical situation and background, those writers are undoubtedly correct who discern in the nationalistic, aggressive, and confident tone of the Scroll the influence of the Maccabaeian wars (655).

Furthermore, a considerable amount of material in 1 QM 2-9 deals with purely military details: descriptions of the composition of army units, weapons, methods of tactical deployment and practical battle-strategy. Here several writers see the possibility of Maccabaeian/Hasmonaeian influence (656).

In his summary statement on Maccabaeian warfare G. von Rad rightly discerns in First Maccabees the desire of the author to "glorify" the Jews (657). This attitude may to some extent be echoed in the Scroll's description of the warriors as "men of valour" (*אנשי חיל* 2.8; 6.12), "men of war" (*אנשי גלחמה* 2.7; 9.5), "mighty men of war" (*גבורי גלחמה* 12.16), and "men of renown" (*אנשי השם* 2.6; 3.4). Significantly, the ancient appellation "mighty warriors" (*גבורי חיל*), attested in 1 QM (cf supra p 136), is also evident

in the Greek of Maccabees (cf supra p 104).

In addition, the Scroll throughout envisages real fighting (vide supra pp 136f). In retrospect this may reflect the character of the Maccabaeen conflict with Seleucid forces as well as the aggressive campaigns of later Hasmonaeen armies. At the same time, in the context of the contemporary Qumran situation, the Roman presence in Palestine may also be considered to be a contributory factor (658).

Significantly, the presentation of human warrior activity is a key factor in the Scroll's modification of certain aspects of the holy war tradition. Characteristic of the prophetic tradition (sc. the oracles against the nations), the Day of Yahweh concept, the Chronicler's liturgical presentation, and the apocalyptic emphasis of the Book of Daniel, is the predominant role of Yahweh to the exclusion of human warrior activity. The Scroll's emphasis on human warrior participation and real fighting is certainly to be seen as a revival of an essential element of the ancient holy war tradition (cf supra pp 60f). To some extent, however, this emphasis in the Scroll's presentation may be due to the influence and impetus of Maccabaeen warfare (659).

Table B : Comparative Table of Trumpet Signals

Signal	OT	1 Macc	1 QM
Mobilisation תרועה	Ju 3.27; 6.34; 1 S 13.3b+4b; Nu 10.2b-4,7; Jer 51.27; (cf 2 S 15.10; 20.1)	3.54 3.54	2.15-16; 3.2b-4a
Camp assembly Breaking camp תרועה	Nu 10.2b Nu 10.5,6		3.4b 3.5b
Battle-order Battle-stations "remembrance" תרועה	Neh 4.14(EVV 20)		3.1(beginning); 3.6b; 7.17b; 8.5; 16.4a; 17.10 3.1; 3.7; 7.12a,14,16; 8.3b,18a; 16.10 7.12; 16.2b-3 8.7; 16.4a; 16.4b-5a; 17.11b
Attack "remembrance" תרועה	cf 2 Chr 13.12,14 Nu 10.9 Nu 10.9; 2 Chr 13.12,14b- 15a; cf: Josh 6.5, 16,20; Ju 7.18,20	4.13b-14a; 5.31,33; 9.12,13; 16.8a 5.31,33	3.1b; 3.8a; 8.1,8b-9a,19; 8.12; 9.1b-2a; 16.6,8; 17.12b-13a,15 2.15; 3.1b; 7.12; 8.10,15b,20; 16.7; 17.13
Ambush		7.45	3.1b-2a; 3.8b
Pursuit "remembrance" תרועה		7.45	3.2; 3.9; 7.12; 9.3; 9.6 18.3b-5a 18.2a
Withdrawal Return	2 S 2.28; 18.16; 20.22		3.2; 3.10; 7.12; 8.2,13b,17a; 16.11a 3.10b

Table C : Scroll inscriptions - content and application

Trumpets	Banners		
3.2b-11	3.12,14		
called of God	*(people of God)		
princes of God	(ensign of God)		
"serekh" of God	4.1-5		
*(convoked by God)	(heave-offering of God)		
(peace of God)	(anger of God)		
(mighty acts of God)	(hundred of God)		
(battalions of God)	(might of God)		
(appointed time of God)	(rejoicings of God)		
(might of God, or, hand of God)	4.6-8		
(mysteries of God)	To battle	In battle	From battle
(God has smitten)	truth of God	right hand of God	exalt God
(God has gathered)	justice of God	appointed time of God	magnify God
(rejoicings of God)	glory of God	panic of God	praise God
	judgment of God	slain of God	glory of God
	4.9-14		
	congregation of God	battle of God	deliverance of God
	encampments of God	vengeance of God	victory of God
Darts	tribes of God	struggle of God	help of God
6.2-3	families of God	retribution of God	support of God
(might of God)	battalions of God	strength of God	joy of God
(anger of God)	assembly of God	retaliation of God	thanksgivings to God
(judgment of God)	summoned by God	might of God	praise of God
	hosts of God	(annihilation by God)	peace of God

* Parentheses indicate two-word inscriptions embodied within extended inscriptions

II Characterisation of the Maccabaeen and Qumran warriors.

Having considered several pertinent aspects of Maccabaeen and Qumran war practice, we now take up again the question of the cultic state of the warrior.

War regulations

Apart from a few isolated references there is little in the narratives of First and Second Maccabees to indicate specific battle ordinances, and certainly no evidence of a formal war-manual. There is, however, ample indication of the background and ethos of Maccabaeen warfare, namely, the intense religious devotion which motivated the original uprising. Pious devotion to the Law is the key to the understanding of the Maccabaeen Revolt, and may provide a link with the revival of cultic purity concepts in 1 QM.

Reference has been made (supra pp 140-144) to the taking up and elaboration of the Deuteronomic war code (Dt 23.10-15, EVV 9-14) in the War Scroll (1 QM 6.12b - 7.7; 10.1-2a). In the Books of Maccabees there is no direct reference to the Deuteronomic regulations for the cultic purity of warrior or war-camp (cf supra p 102). Against the lack of evidence in this respect we have to take into account the intense devotion to the Law which characterises the description of the faithful in First and Second Maccabees (cf supra p 102). Defence of the Law becomes the rallying point of the Maccabaeen Revolt, as indeed pious zeal for the Law becomes the predominant spirit of the Maccabaeen period (cf supra pp 102,104,108). It is reasonable therefore to assume that scrupulous observance of the Law by the faithful (especially in opposition to the deliberate hellenising policies of Antiochus Epiphanes and against the eager adoption of hellenistic practices by renegade Jews) would certainly include the accepted laws of levitical purity. We may further assume that pious Jews of the Maccabaeen period (and indeed the authors of First and Second Maccabees) would not have regarded the warrior and warfare as being outwith the sphere of the cult. The single most positive piece of evidence for this is the deliberate choice of the former cultic site of Mizpah for pre-battle preparatory ritual (cf supra pp 83-89; cf infra pp 225ff), the Jerusalem Temple being at that time defiled.

As suggested above (p 102), complete devotion to the Law in the

Maccabaeen crisis brings a new emphasis, indeed a new dimension, to the concept of warrior consecration: to the cult of purity is added an ethic of piety which makes faithful observance of the Law the supreme rule of life. We have also examined the implications of this for the composition of the Maccabaeen army and the characterisation of its men (supra pp 102-107). The emphasis on faithful observance of the Law in the Maccabaeen period may well be relevant for the taking up and development of the ancient holy war tradition in 1 QM, since where the Scroll develops and extends the Deuteronomic war code regulations, it does so in the direction and on the basis of an intensification of levitical purity concepts, and, as we have observed (supra pp 140-144), applies these in a unique way to the sphere of warfare — the unique application of the term **Q'DA** to warrior qualification (1 QM 7.5b) is noteworthy in this regard (cf supra pp 147f). The Scroll's emphasis in this respect may reflect the uncompromising adherence to the Law by the faithful in the Maccabaeen period. Thus, the explicit regulations for warrior purity in 1 QM (although lacking in First and Second Maccabees) may be seen against the background of intense devotion to Torah amply illustrated in the Maccabaeen narratives.

Some details of ritual significance in the Maccabaeen narratives may now be noted as corroborative evidence.

An isolated incident recorded in 2 Maccabees 12.40 in some measure illustrates the cultic aspect of Maccabaeen warfare. According to the writer, Jewish warriors, killed in battle, are discovered to have idolatrous cult-objects under their tunics (660). This is stated to be the reason for their deaths. Two notes in the passage indicate an infringement of the Law. Firstly, such objects of pagan worship are said to be forbidden by the Law (v 40; cf Ex 20.4; Dt 5.8; 7.25f). Secondly, and more importantly, Judas levies a contribution of silver from every man in the army as a sin-offering (v 43; cf supra, note (390)). The true purpose of this offering on the part of the innocent (cf supra, note (391)) may have been to save the whole army from the consequences of the offenders' sin, and, therefore, to that extent to safeguard the cultic integrity of Judas' army.

An episode perhaps more closely related to the evidence of the Scroll is reported in 1 Maccabees 5.67. Here we read of the fate of a group of priests who venture rashly into battle. Although the writer rationalises the incident somewhat, some cultic implication undoubtedly underlies the incident, and we may assume a cultic offence as the reason for their deaths. The Maccabaeen reference is

especially significant since the narratives provide no evidence of the ritualising of battle or of priestly battle-function: yet the episode clearly testifies to the presence of priests in the Maccabaeen army. The matter is more explicitly dealt with in the War Scroll, and here we may have a definite point of contact with the Maccabaeen incident. According to 1 QM 9.7b-9, for cultic reasons priests must not enter directly into the combat-zone. It is specifically stated that they are to direct the fighting (by trumpet signals) "from afar":

"During the assault the priests shall sound a fanfare from afar, and shall not come into the midst of the slain so as to be defiled by their impure blood, for they are holy; they shall not desecrate the oil of their priestly anointment with the blood of the nations of vanity". (cf Yadin, op.cit. Comm. ad loc).

Purification after battle

1 QM 14.2-4 prescribe a purificatory ritual to be carried out by the warriors on the morning after battle and before returning to the battle-positions for the great hymn of thanksgiving (for discussion, vide supra pp 145f). In the previous discussion of the passage we have suggested that the ceremony described in 1 QM 14.2b-3a may in fact represent a special and distinctive warrior ritual for which we have no clear evidence elsewhere (cf supra pp 145foot-146). An incident recorded in 2 Maccabees 12.38, although not exactly identical, may be compared. Here the forces of Judas Maccabaeus regroup after battle and purify themselves "according to custom" (note, not "according to the Law") in order to keep the Sabbath (661). Although ostensibly to prepare for Sabbath (and, significantly, leaving the dead unburied) the "custom" is important evidence of ritual usage in the Maccabaeen army, namely, the necessary purification immediately after battle. That it takes place, according to the Maccabaeen narrative, in preparation for Sabbath (and at a place far removed from the battle area (662)) should not rule out the possibility of a parallel with the Qumran ceremony in preparation for thanksgiving. It may well be that the ritual observed by Judas is an indication of the ceremony more explicitly presented in 1 QM. It is also important to observe that, as in the Scroll and in the Old Testament battle narratives, the accounts of the Maccabaeen wars place greater emphasis on post-battle thanksgiving than on purificatory procedure (cf supra pp 145foot, 32f; for Maccabaeen references, cf 1 M 4.24; 5.54; 7.48; 13.47; 2 M 8.23,33; 10.38; 15.28f,34). For the Maccabees victory thanksgiving is, for the most part, carried out by the warriors themselves (cf supra pp 124f).

The statement in 1 Maccabees 4.24 :

"On their way back they sang songs of thanksgiving,
praising Heaven"

may be compared with the briefly reported "hymn of return" which is to be sung by the Qumran warriors immediately on their withdrawal from the battle-lines (1 QM 14.2).

Designation of the cultic warrior

The terminology of warrior consecration, especially exemplified in the use of the Hebrew נִזְרִי in 1 QM 7.5b; 10.5 and its equivalent in the Greek of 1 Maccabees 2.42 (cf supra pp 146f, 104), provides a definite link between the War Scroll and the Hasidæan contingent of the Maccabæan army, and is further evidence of the revival and continuity of a vital element of the ancient holy war tradition. Noteworthy in the description of the Hasidæans in 1 Maccabees 2.42 is the qualification of the concept of cultic consecration : the warriors are described specifically as offering themselves "for the Law" (663). This change of emphasis is a development significant not only against the Maccabæan background of devotion to the Law, but is equally important in relation to the Scroll's increased application to the warrior-state of the concepts of levitical purity, and more generally, in relation to the central position of Law and Covenant in the Qumran community (664).

The fundamental importance of the militant Hasidæans for the constitution and character of the Maccabæan army, and indeed, for our understanding of the nature and ethos of Maccabæan warfare, has been discussed above (pp 103-106). Of especial significance is the considered opinion of M. Black (noted supra p 105) that there is a definite connection between the Hasidæans and the ancient tribal asceticism of Israel especially in respect of the possible revival in the Maccabæan period of the life-long nazirate (cf supra pp 105f) and the sexual tabu of the ancient Israelite warrior. Accordingly, in the context of the relation between the Maccabæan writings and 1 QM, it is reasonable to suggest that the Hasidæans represent a transitional stage between the thought-world of Maccabæan warfare and the religious and military idealism (665) of the War Scroll. In this regard, therefore, the evidence of 1 Maccabees 2.42 is perhaps the clearest indication that the hasidic warriors of the army of Judas Maccabæus are to be regarded as the forerunners of the Sons of Light, the warrior saints of Qumran.

III

Moralistic and theological overtones.

Designation of the enemy

We have already noted in First and Second Maccabees and in 1 QM evidence of definite moralistic overtones in the characterisation of the enemy (cf supra pp 108f, 149f). Of particular interest here is the attitude of the writer of First Maccabees to the hellenising Jews. They are consistently characterised as "lawless" (ἀνόμοι : 1 M 2.44; 3.5,6; 7.5; 9.23,58,69; 11.25; note also the expression in 1 M 1.52 : πᾶς ὁ ἐγκαταλείπων τὸν νόμον). This particular designation is clearly aimed at the renegades' contempt for the Jewish Law, obedience to which, as we have seen, is a cardinal principle for the faithful in the Maccabaeian period.

In the War Scroll, although only the enemy is denounced and denigrated, one detail may be mentioned as a point of similarity with the characterisation of the Jewish renegades in First Maccabees. According to 1 QM 1.2, one group in the list of enemies (in distinction to the named peoples) is specifically designated "offenders against the covenant". As in the Maccabaeian references, this description can apply only to Jewish renegades (666).

The possibility of another point of contact is apparent in certain passages in First Maccabees where the Greek reproduces the Hebrew expression שְׂמֵי־לְזָנִי; significantly, the designation is applied to renegades. F.-M. Abel (Comm. ad loc) draws attention to two instances. In 1 Maccabees 1.11 the chief instigators of hellenisation are denounced as υἱοὶ παράνομοι. Similarly, in 1 Maccabees 1.34 we find the reading ἄνδρες παράνομοι (note also 1 M 10.61 (667); 11.21; for the relevance of a passage in Dt 13.14-19 (EW13-18), cf supra pp 108foot-109). Again it is clear from the Greek that these are essentially enemies of the Jewish Law (668).

Although in the War Scroll the phrase שְׂמֵי־לְזָנִי does not appear, the term שְׂמֵי־לְזָנִי takes on a new connotation as a nomen proprium denoting the leader of the opposing forces (669). The enemies in the Scroll are clearly identified with Belial. They are specifically designated his army (שְׂמֵי־לְזָנִי שְׂרָא : 1 QM 1.1,13; 11.8; 15.2-3; cf 18.1) and "the men of his lot" (1 QM 4.2); note also the description "the spirits of his lot" (1 QM 31.2a,4,11b-12a). Since the expression "army of Belial" is presented as a comprehensive

phrase denoting all the enemies of the Sons of Light, we may assume that it includes the renegade Jews mentioned in the list of 1 QM 1.2. In this connection, we may note the statement in 1 QM 14.9b-10a to the effect that Belial has not beguiled the faithful away from God's covenant (cf Dt 13.14 where the "sons of Belial" are the instigators of apostasy — noted by Yadin, op.cit. Comm. ad loc). Similarly, according to 1 QM 13.11a Belial's purpose is to corrupt, presumably to lead the faithful astray (cf supra p 169).

We may conclude that the interpretation of "Belial" terminology in First Maccabees, specifically the characterisation of enemies as enemies of the Law, may be a link with the further development and more explicit presentation of the figure of Belial in the Scroll.

Designation of the faithful

Evidence in the Maccabaeen narratives and in the War Scroll indicates that the faithful are presented as the chosen people of God.

The original connotation and context of the term לֹט ("lot") have been discussed above (pp 150ff). The term is widely used in the Scroll to designate (by means of various epithets) both the faithful and the enemy (cf supra p 150foot). In this connection, mention may be made of an isolated linguistic reference in 2 Maccabees 14.15b (cf ibid 1.26 & Abel Comm. ad loc). Here the faithful are described as God's "chosen lot" ($\eta \epsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon \mu\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$). In the Septuagint the term $\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ translates the Hebrew מִלֵּךְ , which belongs to the same association of ideas as לֹט (vide supra p 152).

In addition, the Scroll describes the faithful specifically as "the elect" (cf supra pp 152f).

Reference has also been made (supra p 201) to the taking up of the ancient holy war designation עַם הַקֹּדֶשׁ .

"True Israel"

The idea of an elect people may also find expression in the concept of "true Israel".

In a few instances in First Maccabees the name Israel is applied exclusively to the faithful Jews (1 M 1.53; 3.2,15; 4.25,30,31; cf supra p 110).

Although less explicitly, there may be some indication of a similar usage in the Scroll (670). Several relevant passages may be quoted.

In 1 QM 10.9-10a "Thy people Israel" is described in detail as :

a people of men holy through the Covenant, taught the statutes, enlightened in understanding, hearing the glorious voice, seeing the holy angels, open of ear and hearing deep things....

This description is of a spiritually exclusive group distinct from the nation as a whole. The most notable feature of their exclusiveness is their receiving of divine revelation.

Further, with reference to the envisaged battle, we read in 15.1 :

For it is a time of trouble for Israel, a time pre-ordained for battle with all the nations, and the lot of God is in eternal redemption.

Here the "trouble" would seem to apply to the faithful engaged in battle. Significantly, they are also designated "the lot of God".

There is a remarkable correspondence of thought in 1.11b-12 :

That is a time of mighty trouble for the people to be redeemed by God.

Even more explicit is the reference in 17.7. In the two parallel phrases "to light up in joy [the house of Israel, peace and blessing for the lot of God", "the house of Israel" corresponds to "the lot of God".

Apart from these passages certain other references indicate that the faithful are not synonymous with the whole nation.

Thus, in 1 QM 1.2 a clear distinction is made between the Sons of Light and "the offenders against the Covenant".

According to 1.2-3 the army of the Sons of Light comprises three tribes (671), Levi, Judah and Benjamin, and these (as indeed the Sons of Light) are described as exiles returning from the wilderness (672).

Reference may also be made to 13.8b and 14.8b-9a where the Covenant-people who are to be saved by God are described as a "remnant".

Finally, attention may be drawn to several contexts where the title "God of Israel" appears along with significant references to the faithful. One passage is particularly instructive:

The God of Israel has called a sword upon all nations, and through the saints of His people He will do mightily.

(1 QM 16.1; cf 6.6)

In 13.12b-17 the appellation "God of Israel" occurs in conjunction with significant epithets denoting the faithful : "the lot of Thy truth", "those of the truth", "the poor" (for the latter, cf 18.8). Similarly, the association of "the God of Israel" and "the lot to be redeemed by Him" appears in the encouragement speech, 17.4b-6a (cf 15.13-end; 18.6-13).

/Covenant loyalty

Covenant loyalty

A more definite relation between the narratives of First and Second Maccabees and the War Scroll may be discerned in the emphasis on covenant loyalty.

In First and Second Maccabees covenant loyalty as well as an intense and pious devotion to the Law distinguish the faithful (cf 1 M 1.63; 2.20,27; 2 M 7.36). Mattathias, presented by the writer of First Maccabees as the renowned patriot and zealot, pledges himself and his sons to maintain the covenant of their ancestors (1 M 2.20), calls those who are faithful to the covenant to follow him (ibid v 27), and, in his dying oration, exhorts his sons to give their lives for the covenant (ibid v 50).

This emphasis may to some extent have influenced the Scroll's unique concept of the faithful as a "covenant people". An explicit reference is found in the context of pre-battle address (1 QM 10.10) where the elect are described as "a holy covenant people": ⁽⁶⁷³⁾ אֶם קִרְבָּנִי גִּיּוֹרִי (cf supra p 153). Again, in 1 QM 17.8b the faithful are called "sons of His covenant": בְּנֵי בְרִיתִי.

Furthermore, in the Maccabaeen narratives and in the Scroll the motif of God's covenant with the ancestors is attested.

According to 1 Maccabees 4.10, significantly, in the context of a battle speech, prayer is made for divine intervention on the grounds of the covenant made with the fathers (note, in a similar context, 2 M 8.15). (For additional references to God's covenant faithfulness, vide supra p 153).

"Saints"

Evidence in 1 QM for the designation of the warriors as "holy ones", "saints" (⁽⁶⁷⁴⁾ אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁמְרוּ), has been examined above (p 154).

Further to that discussion we may suggest that the concept of "saints" in the War Scroll may have been influenced in part by the concept of pious devotion to the Law, and especially by the hasidic movement (674), in the Maccabaeen period.

"Dualistic" presentation

In the Scroll the opposition between the faithful and the enemy is characteristically and emphatically expressed by the contrasting use of the term "lot" (for references, vide supra p 150foot), and in the light/darkness motif.

Osten-Sacken considers that the concepts of light and darkness in the Scroll are expressive of the gulf between Israel and the nations in the early Maccabaeen period, and suggests that these concepts were eschatologically and dualistically understood in the circles which stood behind 1 QM (675). While accepting the statement in the main, one might wish to qualify the idea of a gulf simply between Israel and the nations (somewhat idealistically portrayed in the Scroll — especially in Col. 2). Such a gulf did exist (indeed, had always existed), but the unique feature in the Maccabaeen situation is the gulf within Israel itself between the pious upholders of the Law and the hellenising renegades (cf especially, 1 M 1.11-15, 43, 52f; and, with reference to Jason the usurper of the office of high priest (676), 2 M 4.7-17). Significantly, in the War Scroll a similar (more restricted) opposition is indicated between the warrior saints and a group of enemies described as "offenders against the covenant" (1 QM 1.2).

Moralistic and theological interpretation of war

Certain aspects of the moralistic and theological understanding of war and national catastrophe provide a significant link between the Maccabaeen crisis and 1 QM : the evidence indicates certain contrasts as well as notable resemblances.

In the Maccabaeen narratives (more especially Second Maccabees) and in the War Scroll there is an obvious taking up of the Old Testament prophetic (oracles against the nations and Day of Yahweh) tradition in the presentation of divine wrath, judgment and retribution (cf supra pp 109, 155).

A distinct change of emphasis is apparent in 1 QM, insofar as here the moralistic categories are applied only to the enemy. This contrasts with the Old Testament prophetic tradition in which Israel and Judah are condemned as well as foreign nations, and also with the evidence of First and Second Maccabees, according to which the calamities and sufferings of the Jews under the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes are construed as divine judgment and punishment because of the nation's sin (cf supra p 109).

This shift of emphasis in the Scroll, we have suggested (supra p 155), may be understood from the nature of the document itself — and in particular, from the clear-cut distinction and separation made between the two opposing sides in the context of battle.

Nevertheless, in the Scroll the battle is clearly understood as a time of trial and stress for the faithful.

Thus, explicitly in 1 QM 1.11end-12 :

That is a time of mighty trouble (*עַתָּה יָבֹא צָרָה*) for the people to be redeemed by God. In all their troubles there was none like it, from its hastening until its completion for an eternal redemption.

(cf Yadin, op.cit. Comm. ad loc. & supra p 156)

That the time of trouble refers expressly to the battle is again made clear in 1 QM 15.1 (cf also Yadin's restoration in 10.18).

A demonstrable correspondence in theme and phraseology is found in the description of the time of the end in Daniel 12.1 (677) :

And there shall be a time of trouble (*יָבֹא צָרָה*) such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time: and at that time Thy people shall be delivered (AV).

This correspondence is corroborated and strengthened by a reference in First Maccabees in which the writer describes the situation after the death of Judas Maccabaeus as a time of renewed apostasy and increased persecution, and concludes :

And there was a great affliction (*ἐλπίς μεγάλη*) in Israel, the like whereof was not since the time that a prophet was not seen among them (1 M 9.27) (678).

It is necessary to note that the Scroll does not rationalise the "time of trouble". There is no evidence of the concept, prominent in Second Maccabees (cf supra p 109), that calamity is brought about by the nation's sin. Nor do we find any explicit reference to the idea that the actions of the faithful (or their deaths) effect atonement (cf supra p 110) — unless we construe in that light the pregnant statement that God "will do valiant deeds through the saints of His people" (1 QM 6.6; 16.1). Certainly, there is no doubt that the Qumran sectarians considered themselves to be an atoning community (679). Although such a concept does not make itself apparent in the War Scroll, it may nevertheless be latent there, especially in the Scroll's emphasis on the cultic state of the warrior and on the sacral nature of the war.

For one critical aspect of the battle, the problem of casualties among the Sons of Light, the Scroll finds it necessary to provide some theological explanation.

Thus, in 16.9b we read :

.... the slain among the skirmishers begin to fall, according

to God's mysteries and to test thereby all those destined for battle. (cf 17.17 (incomplete))

The theme of this explanation would seem to be the main subject of the chief priest's special address of encouragement (16.13-15; cf supra pp 156f).

The Scroll's concept of testing is further indicated by the additional motif of men being tested in the "crucible" (**ה'ד'ז** 17.1). This theme has its clearest expression in the comprehensive hortation to the warriors in 17.9 :

.... be ye strong in God's crucible, until He shall lift up His hand and shall complete His testings (**ו'ד'ז**) through His mysteries with regard to your existence.

As noted above (p 157), the end-time in the Book of Daniel is seen as a period of testing and purging (Dan 11.35; 12.10).

Similarly, for the writer of Second Maccabees the religious persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes is understood as God's disciplining of the race (2 M 6.12; 7.33) (680).

Thus, the concept of testing provides a significant link between the Scroll's presentation of battle (specifically in relation to the problem of casualties among the Sons of Light) and the understanding, on the part of the writer of Second Maccabees, of the suffering and deaths of the faithful in the Maccabaeen crisis.

IV

Battle address and war liturgy.

Ritual preparation for battle, battle address and war liturgy, exemplify most clearly the constant and recurring themes and motifs of the holy war tradition, and provide considerable evidence of further links between the Maccabaeen narratives and the Qumran War Scroll.

Pre-battle preparatory ritual

In the sphere of pre-battle ritual the writer of First Maccabees has provided an instructive and crucially important account of ritual preliminaries at the assembly of Mizpah (1 M 3.46-47). The literary presentation is especially significant in view of well-attested Old Testament precedents both for the cultic site of Mizpah as a centre for pre-battle assembly, and for certain of the ritual procedures reported (vide supra pp 15ff, 83ff).

In the previous discussion of these details reference has been made to the predominantly penitential character of the Mizpah preparatory ritual carried out by Judas Maccabaeus.

In his comparison of the salient features of the Mizpah assembly and the Qumran battle ordinances Osten-Sacken deliberately excludes the Maccabaeen acts of penitence, the unrolling of the Torah scroll, and the formal presentation of sacred objects. These items, according to Osten-Sacken, "do not take up any ordinances from the holy war tradition, but are the answer to a unique situation, the desecration of the Temple" (681).

One would not agree with Osten-Sacken that penitential acts have no place in the holy war tradition — the Old Testament evidence seems conclusive on this point (note again, supra pp 15ff).

Furthermore, the Mizpah assembly is clearly a pre-battle situation, and one in which (certainly uniquely) the underlying concepts and practices of ancient holy war are deliberately taken up and adapted to the circumstances of the Maccabaeen crisis. The penitential acts are entirely in keeping with a situation of war-emergency, and form an integral part (together with the other features reported) of the essential pre-battle appeal for divine help.

Osten-Sacken further affirms : "this form of preparation for war has no parallel in 1 QM".

While acknowledging that the War Scroll does not present a formal

ceremony of ritual preparation for battle or any explicit reference to pre-battle penitential rites, we cannot rule out the possibility of a pre-battle preparatory stage (outwith the terms of reference of the present Scroll) which of necessity would have included formal recruitment and preparatory ceremonies (682). More positively, as an indication of the mental attitude of the warriors, we have noted above (pp 174f) the literary presentation of significant penitential themes in the hymnic material of the Scroll.

The Torah scroll (1 M 3.48)

The unrolling of the Torah scroll as part of the battle preparations at Mizpah has been discussed in detail above (pp 86-89).

In this procedure we have evidence of a unique development of the ancient war-practice of oracular enquiry : at Mizpah the former methods of seeking divine guidance are replaced by consultation of Scripture.

One might have expected such a radical innovation to be reflected in some measure in the War Scroll. The absence from the Scroll of any specific reference to the seeking of divine guidance (by any formal method (683)) is, therefore singularly remarkable.

It might, however, be suggested that in the literary content of 1 QM there is indirect evidence of the authoritative use of Scripture. (An important implication of the Mizpah episode is that Scripture is regarded as the authoritative word of God, and further, that the canonicity of Scripture is thereby attested). Thus, it would seem, the whole practice and procedure of war receives in the compilation of the Qumran War Scroll a definite and authoritative Scriptural basis (684). In the light of this development the consulting of Scripture at Mizpah takes on a greater significance, not only as a unique departure from former methods of oracular enquiry, but also as a first step towards a more deliberate searching of the Scriptures for divine guidance and revelation. Accordingly, despite the lack of evidence in 1 QM of a set procedure for divine enquiry, the establishing of a Scriptural basis for compiling rules of war may indirectly be the result of the innovation reported in 1 Maccabees 3.48.

Presentation of consecrated objects (1 M 3.49)

The presentation of consecrated objects at the Mizpah assembly (cf supra p 85) is an essential element in the Maccabaeen pre-battle appeal to God, and is not entirely without some precedent in the

Old Testament — note especially Numbers 31.6 according to which Phinehas takes the "holy vessels" (*וְיָקִיץ הַקֹּדֶשׁ*) to war (685). Significantly, the Maccabaeen narrative makes specific mention of priestly vestments (rescued from the Temple or perhaps brought by Mattathias from Modin ?). It is interesting to note in 1 QM 7.9-10 that special battle-vestments are to be worn by the priests.

Furthermore, the presence and presentation of consecrated men (Nazirites) at Mizpah (cf supra pp 85,105) deserves mention as a possible link with the nazirite warriors of the ancient holy war tradition and with the emphasis on warrior consecration in the Scroll.

War speech

In contrast to Old Testament and Maccabaeen war practice, addressing the army in the Scroll is, with the exception of the (Deuteronomic) reference to the officers' speech, exclusively a priestly function (for the war leader as spokesman in the ancient tradition, cf supra p 19; for leadership in the Maccabaeen campaigns, cf supra pp 99ff) (686). In other respects, however, the practice of battle address in the Old Testament, First and Second Maccabees, and 1 QM is identical. Three points of similarity may be mentioned. As in the ancient war tradition, so in the Scroll and Maccabaeen narratives the context of the speeches shows them closely related to actual battle situations; furthermore, the purpose of the war speech is to encourage the warriors and to incite them to fight (in the explicit words of the Scroll, "to strengthen their hands in battle", 1 QM 15.7; cf 16.11b-12). By far the most important aspect of similarity is the content of the speeches.

Particular reference has been made to the speeches reported in 1 Maccabees 3.18-22; 4.8-11, and in 2 Maccabees 8.16-20; 15.8-16 (supra pp 91f), which reproduce the characteristic elements of the ancient encouragement speech : the injunction "fear not" (1 M 3.22; 4.8; 2 M 8.16; 15.8), the concept that numbers are irrelevant to the issue of battle (1 M 3.18f; 4.8; cf 2 M 8.16; note also the contrast between reliance on weapons and faith in God, 2 M 8.18; 15.11), and the assurance of victory from God (1 M 3.22; 4.10; 2 M 15.8b; cf 2 M 8.18b; note also the battle-cry "Victory of God", 2 M 13.15).

Comparison may be made with the formal speeches in 1 QM (10.2b-5; 15.7b - 16.1; 16.11b - 17.9). Although the Scroll passages show a closer relation to Old Testament phraseology (note especially the injunction "Be ye strong and courageous", 1 QM 15.7b; cf 17.4a,9a),

and present additional motifs from the prophetic tradition (cf supra pp 166f), the injunction "fear not" still features as the main element (10.3b-4a; 15.8-9a; 17.4a).

It is clear that the Maccabaeen narratives and 1 QM essentially revive the encouragement speech of the ancient war tradition. The practical revival of the war speech in the historical situation of the Maccabaeen wars is especially important, and may represent a positive link with the more extensive literary presentation which we find in the War Scroll.

The Deuteronomic war code

In the previous discussion (supra pp 161-165) we have observed that the Scroll takes up the speech-pattern of the Deuteronomic war code (Dt 20.1-9). The interesting feature of the Scroll's use of the Deuteronomic material is the departure from the form and content of the officers' address — after an almost word for word reproduction of the priest's address. It may be supposed that this modification (and thereby the omission of the three categories of social exemption, Dt 20.5-7, cf supra pp 163foot-164; 42-45) is deliberate on the part of the compiler; we have suggested that these categories would have had no real relevance for the Qumran situation. Similarly, the Scroll makes only summary mention of the dismissal of the fainthearted (".... to turn back all the fainthearted" 10.5b-6a), omitting not only the legalistic formula but also the rationalising explanation of Deuteronomy 20.8 (cf supra pp 164foot-165).

In these particulars we may have a definite connection with the historical background of the Maccabaeen Revolt and with the account of the Mizpah pre-battle assembly.

Thus, the writer of First Maccabees makes only a brief allusion to the Deuteronomic exemptions and to the dismissal of the fainthearted:

Then he (Judas) ordered home those who were building houses, those who were newly betrothed, those who were planting vineyards, and those who were afraid, according to the Law.
(1 M 3.56)

Clearly, the Deuteronomic regulations are here reduced to an exceedingly summary and non-legalistic form, and are again presented without the stereotyped formula and rationalising explanations which are an integral part of the Deuteronomic war code. It has been argued (supra p 98) that in the historical situation of the Maccabaeen Revolt, concern in particular for house-builders and vineyard-planters might seem somewhat irrelevant — indeed, the whole statement in 1 M 3.56 does not share the practical reality and the critical immediacy of the rest of the Mizpah account.

Perhaps the author's purpose in including the Deuteronomic references is simply to portray (rather idealistically) the Maccabaeen partisan militia in the light of the ancient war code, and at the same time to provide added Scriptural basis for the Mizpah proceedings.

Battle liturgy

In addition to the formal war speech the Scroll provides an impressive body of hymnic and liturgical material. This comprises pre-battle hymns — incorporating praise, prayer and appeal to God — and post-battle hymns of thanksgiving for victory (vide supra pp 170-180; for specific references to pre-battle praise, cf note (651)).

Distinct traces of a liturgical development in the Maccabaeen writings provide a historical link of undoubted importance with the War Scroll.

As we have seen (supra p 121) the ancient battle-shout (הַיְּהוָה) becomes a battle-hymn — Judas leads his men into battle "singing hymns as battle-cries" (2 M 12.37). A similar development is apparent in 1 Maccabees 5.33 : following the sounding of the trumpets, the battle-cry takes the form of shouted prayers. A passage in 2 Maccabees 15.25-16 is also relevant. Here a notable contrast is drawn between the trumpets and war songs of the enemy and the invocations and prayers with which Judas and his men join battle.

Of special importance for this development in the War Scroll and Maccabaeen narratives is the significant liturgical emphasis in 2 Chronicles 20 . In a unique ritualising addition to his presentation of battle, the Chronicler indicates the appointment of male cultic singers who are to precede the army singing praise to God (2 Chr 20. 21-22). Characteristic of the Chronicler's ritualising and spiritualisation of the battle-action is the complete exclusion of human warrior participation. It is precisely at this point, as we have seen (supra pp 208foot-209), that the Scroll and the Maccabaeen passages demonstrate complete agreement against the Chronicler, insofar as they combine their liturgical emphasis with a portrayal of a conflict in which there is a definite place for human warrior activity.

Prayer

The Maccabaeen narratives provide considerable evidence of prayer and supplication in the context of battle. Prayer for divine aid is frequently reported as part of the preparation for battle (1 M 4.30; 7.40ff; 2 M 8.2ff, 14; 10.16, 25f; 11.6; 12.6, 15, 28, 36; 13.10, 12; 14.15; 15.21f, 26f). Noteworthy also are the references to the "cry

to Heaven", characteristic of the writer of First Maccabees (1 M 3.50a; 4.10,40; 5.31; 9.46).

Prayer is specifically mentioned as part of the battle preparations at Mizpah (1 M 3.44,50-52). For the Maccabees the ancient cultic site is essentially a "place of supplication" (τόπος προσευχῆς, 1 M 3.46).

The consistent practice of pre-battle prayer in the Maccabaeen wars may have had an influence on the extensive liturgical development evidenced in 1 QM.

The Scroll specifically indicates the inauguration of the pre-battle ceremony by a formal prayer read by the chief priest (1 QM 15.4-5). Significantly, the passage mentions a written source for the text of this prayer (the text itself does not appear) (cf supra pp 165foot-166, 171top).

Noteworthy also is the passage 1 QM 18.9end-13, which, although included in the context of a thanksgiving hymn, is essentially a battle-prayer (cf supra p 179). The displacement of this prayer from its appropriate context and setting might indicate that it has been adapted from an earlier source.

Heilsgeschichte

Pre-battle appeal for divine aid frequently includes references to (and indeed, is based upon) outstanding historical acts of deliverance.

Positive elements of Heilsgeschichte occur in significant passages of Maccabaeen prayers and speeches. Here we have a definite link between the Maccabaeen war-narratives and the Scroll. P.R. Davies suggests that the Maccabaeen examples provide a plausible origin for this material in the Scroll (687).

Notable in this connection is the extension of the concept of Heilsgeschichte to include the Battle of Jericho (2 M 12.15), David's victory over Goliath (1 M 4.30a; 1 QM 11.1b-2), the attack of Jonathan and his armour-bearer on a Philistine outpost (1 M 4.30b), a (more contemporary) victory of Jews over Galatians (2 M 8.20; cf F.-M. Abel, Comm. ad loc), and, with special relevance both for the Maccabaeen situation and for the Scroll, the miraculous extermination of the forces of Sennacherib (1 M 7.41; 2 M 15.19,22; 1 QM 11.11-12 — cf Yadin, Comm. ad loc).

The traditional Heilsgeschichte episode, the deliverance of the Israelites at the Reed Sea, is also mentioned (1 M 4.9; 1 QM 11.9b-10a).

For the Scroll's presentation, we may also note the references to God's "great works" and "powerful might" (1 QM 10.8b-9a).
(Cf supra pp 88, 91, 91foot-92, 116, 120, 171).

Thanksgiving after battle

In their descriptions of post-battle victory celebration the writers of First and Second Maccabees present a distinctly liturgical emphasis (cf supra pp 175f). At the same time there is a marked contrast between the spontaneous victory songs of the warriors themselves (1 M 4.24; 2 M 8.27; 10.38; 15.28f) and more formal ceremonies involving ritual procedure such as burnt-offerings (1 M 5.54) and the purification of houses (1 M 13.47a).

The recapture of the Jerusalem Citadel by Simon Maccabaeus is followed by its ritual purification. Musical instruments accompany the victory celebration which becomes the basis of an annual festival (1 M 13.50b-52a; cf F.-M. Abel, Comm. ad loc).

Musical instruments also accompany the public thanksgiving at the rededication of the Temple (1 M 4.54ff).

The passage in Second Maccabees reporting the defeat of Nicanor especially distinguishes the spontaneous shouts of praise of the victorious warriors from the later public rejoicing in Jerusalem (2 M 15.28f, 34).

The Maccabaeian details are important in relation to the War Scroll, and may have had a formative influence on the Scroll's explicit and more elaborate presentation of victory celebration; (for the relevant thanksgiving texts in 1 QM, vide supra pp 177-180).

The Maccabaeian emphasis on victory praise, and especially the references to thanksgiving immediately after battle by the warriors themselves, are certainly taken up by the Scroll (thus, 1 QM 14.2a), and may be discerned even where the thanksgiving is presented as a formal ceremony under the direction of the chief priest (cf 1 QM 18.5-6; 19.11-12a); (for discussion of the thanksgiving procedure in 1 QM, vide supra pp 175ff).

In particular, we have suggested (supra p 217top) the possibility of a link between the "hymn of return" briefly mentioned in 1 QM 14.2a and the statement in 1 Maccabees 4.24 :

On their way back they sang songs of thanksgiving,
praising Heaven.

V The concept of Yahweh as warrior

A prominent feature in the tradition-history of holy war is the concept of Yahweh as warrior actively supporting His people in battle, at times intervening miraculously to deliver them. With reference to divine activity and intervention in battle we have seen that the Maccabaeen narratives and the Qumran War Scroll take up leading concepts and motifs from the whole range of holy war tradition material. Now we may focus upon certain unique developments and emphases which may demonstrate definite links between the Maccabaeen presentation and that of the Scroll.

Epithets characterising God as warrior

In Second Maccabees and in the Scroll the portrayal of God as warrior is illustrated by various epithets and appellations. Basically two types of epithet, distinct in content and imagery, are evident. The first indicates primarily God active in battle; the second extends this image in terms of a pronounced cosmic dimension.

Thus, firstly, in Second Maccabees the warrior activity of God may be discerned in epithets describing Him as :

- "the Lord who gives victory" (2 M 10.38),
- "their ally and leader in battle" (12.36),
- "the One who has always fought for our nation" (14.34), and
- "the Sovereign whose might shatters the strength of the enemy" (12.28).

Significantly, in this connection God is described in the Scroll as :

- "the Mighty One of war" (1 QM 12.8a),
- "the King of glory" (12.7),

and is addressed as :

- "mighty One" (12.9a), and
- "man of glory" (12.9b) (vide supra, p 183).

In the second series of epithets God is portrayed as supreme and omnipotent ruler over all powers in earth and heaven.

Thus, the writer of Second Maccabees characterises God as :

- "Ruler of spirits and of all powers" (2 M 3.24),
- "the Lord omnipotent" (3.22),
- "Ruler of the world" (12.15),
- "Ruler" (12.28),

/"Creator

"Creator of the world" (13.14),
 "Ruler of heaven" (15.23),
 "the all-seeing One" (7.6; 12.22), and
 "worker of miracles" (15.21).

Especially significant is the appellation "Ruler of spirits and of all powers" (2 M 3.24) which seems perfectly to convey the meaning of the Hebrew **לִיְהוָה הַרוּחִים** (cf supra pp 52f).

In this connection we may also note the use of the term **παγκρατής** (2 M 3.22); the more familiar form **παντοκράτωρ** occurs frequently in the Septuagint as the interpretation of **לִיְהוָה הַרוּחִים** (cf F.-M. Abel, Comm. ad loc., & supra p 52).

The Maccabaeian terminology here provides a positive link with specific epithets in the War Scroll.

Noteworthy in this respect is the designation **לִיְהוָה הַרוּחִים**, "the host of His spirits" (1 QM 12.8 = 19.1b), which effectively embodies the ancient concept of Yahweh's heavenly armies, and especially recalls His commanding of the cosmic hosts in battle (cf supra pp 48f). Consonant with this phrase, and equally important for the Maccabaeian connection, is the epithet **אֱלֹהֵי מַלְאָכָיו**, "God of angels" (1 QM 14.16; 18.6). The identical phrase occurs in Daniel 11.36b. It is important to note (with Yadin (688)) that in the Scroll **אֱלֹהֵי מַלְאָכָיו** and "spirits" are synonymous with "angels".

Significant references to the heavenly armies are found elsewhere in the Scroll. Thus, the cosmic forces are designated :

"the host of luminaries" (10.11b),
 "host(s) of angels" (12.1, 4b, 7b), and
 "the congregation of Thy holy ones" (12.6).

(For the angelic hosts in battle, vide infra pp 235f).

Supernatural manifestation in Second Maccabees

A unique feature in the presentation of Second Maccabees is the prominence given to supernatural manifestation.

A notable example is found in 2 Maccabees 3.24-28.

The attempt by Heliodorus to appropriate the Temple funds results in a terrifying apparition. Although the scene is the Temple, the imagery of the manifestation pertains decidedly to war. Reference is made to "panic", the war-horse and the armoured rider. Heliodorus is physically attacked by the horse and beaten by two (supernatural) "young men". With characteristic emphasis, it is made clear that God

is the instigator of these events (cf vv 28b-30, 34, 38b-39).

In a comparable passage, 2 Maccabees 5.2-4, portentous apparitions appear in the sky over Jerusalem for forty days. In this dramatic scene a whole battle-array is presented, and an aerial conflict ensues.

Divine intervention, in the form of supernatural manifestation, is evident in 2 Maccabees 10.29-31. At the height of the battle against Timotheus, the enemy see five horsemen in the sky. These place themselves at the head of the Jews, surrounding and shielding Judas. Arrows and thunderbolts are launched against the enemy, blinding them and throwing them into disorder. A vast number of the enemy is slain.

Another battle-context is presented in the episode reported in 2 Maccabees 11.8-11. Here the apparition, a horseman in white with armour and weapons of gold, encourages and inspires the warriors to fight fiercely and vanquish the enemy. The rationale of the battle is indicated in the thought imputed to Lysias that the Jews were invincible because the mighty God fought along with them (v 13).

In addition, significant references are found (albeit in the context of prayer for divine help) to God's destroying angel.

Thus, Judas and his men pray that God will send "a good angel to deliver Israel" (2 M 11.6). Although the reference occurs in the context of prayer, the appearance in the ensuing battle of the heavenly horseman (v 8; cf v10, "their heavenly ally") may be understood as the answer to the prayer.

Similarly, in 2 Maccabees 15.22-24, in a passage deliberately recalling the Sennacherib episode, Judas prays for "a good angel" to precede the Jewish army spreading fear and panic. After noting the slaughter of Nicanor's forces the writer comments that the Jews "were greatly cheered by the manifestation of God" (v 27; a note in 2 M 14.15b describes God as One who always comes to the help of His people "with manifestations"). Significantly, in his account of the battle against Nicanor the writer of First Maccabees reports a pre-battle prayer in which Judas, alluding to the slaughter of the army of Sennacherib, and referring specifically to the destroying angel, asks God to crush the enemy (1 M 7.41).

It may reasonably be suggested (cf supra p 117) that the emphasis on supernatural manifestation and the almost apocalyptic imagery of Second Maccabees provide a definite link with the Scroll's major development and presentation of a unique cosmic and eschatological

conflict in which the angelic armies figure prominently. Details of the latter feature may now be considered.

Angelic battle-hosts in 1 QM

Divine intervention is indirectly evident in the Scroll's unique emphasis on the role of angels in battle.

The role of the "angel of God" is well attested in the Old Testament (cf *supra*, note (280)). The War Scroll fundamentally extends the ancient concept, not only in presenting a vast army of angels, but in stressing their decisive participation in actual battle (cf *supra* pp 186f). In connection with the latter point, it is especially significant that some of the supernatural manifestations indicated in Second Maccabees are presented in the historical setting of battle (thus, as noted on the previous page, 2 M 10.29ff; 11.8-11; cf 15.27).

References to angelic hosts specifically in the context of battle are evident in the following passages of the War Scroll :

1.10-11; 12.4b-5,6b,7b-8; 15.14; 19.1b .

Davies notes the significance of references to the angelic army in Second Maccabees (689).

An interesting innovation is presented in 1 QM 9.14-16, according to which the names of four angels are inscribed on the shields of the "towers". Yadin considers this to imply (as in the Pseudepigrapha and Rabbinic literature) that the four angels lead these tactical units (690). If this is the case, we may recall the passage in 2 Maccabees 11.8,10 (cf *ibid* 10.29b) where the angelic warrior leads the Jewish army into battle.

Especially important is the prominence given to Michael as angelic leader and deliverer. The most significant passage occurs in 1 QM 17, and may be quoted in full :

To-day is His appointed time to subdue and to humble the prince of the dominion of wickedness. He will send eternal assistance to the lot to be redeemed by Him through the might of an angel: He hath magnified the authority of Michael through eternal light to light up in joy the house of Israel, peace and blessing for the lot of God, so as to raise amongst the angels the authority of Michael and the dominion of Israel amongst all flesh.

(lines 5b-8a)

The new cosmic emphasis is especially striking in comparison with the notices of divine warrior activity indicated elsewhere in the Scroll (thus, 1.4-7; 12.9b-12a = 19.2b-5a; 14.16-end) (691).

In another relevant passage, Yadin interprets "the Prince of Light"

with reference to Michael (692) :

Thou didst appoint from of old the Prince of Light, to assist us, since all sons of justice are in his lot and all spirits of truth in his dominion.

(13.10).

Again it is to be observed that in both passages cited, God's purpose in sending the battle-angel is to render assistance to His elect. Here it is pertinent to recall the prayers for divine aid (specifically through God's destroying angel) in the Maccabaeen narratives (cf supra p 234).

Divine intervention and human warrior activity

Some indication of the essential relation between human warrior action and divine help is apparent in the prayers and speeches of First Maccabees (cf supra pp 112-115), and is best summed up in Judas' petition :

"Overthrow them by the sword of those who love Thee" (1 M 4.33). A statement with essentially similar content and meaning is found in the War Scroll :

He shall do valiant deeds through the saints of His people
(6.6b; cf supra p 187).

The writer of Second Maccabees presents more definite indications of divine and human warrior activity in the context of battle. This is succinctly illustrated in the following statements (cf supra pp 121f) :

The Almighty fought on their side and they slaughtered over nine thousand of the enemy (2 M 8.24)

A violent combat ensued in which by divine help Judas and his men were victorious (12.11)

.... for the Jews, success and victory were guaranteed not only because of their bravery but even more because the Lord was their refuge (10.28).

The whole concept of divine/human battle-action is well summed up in 2 Maccabees 15.26-27 :

Judas and his men joined battle with invocations and prayers. Fighting with their hands and praying to God in their hearts, they killed no fewer than thirty-five thousand men, and were greatly cheered by the divine manifestation.

The close association of human warrior action and divine help or intervention is also presupposed in some of the divine epithets noted above (p 232).

Furthermore, as we have seen, the emphasis on supernatural manifestation presented in certain passages in Second Maccabees is clearly related to historical events and especially to human warrior activity (cf 2 M 10.29-31; 11.8-11).

The last point provides a further link with the presentation of the angelic armies in the War Scroll. Here the accentuation of cosmic and apocalyptic imagery in no way detracts from the reality of the human warrior action (cf supra p 187 & p 211), indeed, the most significant feature in this respect is the Scroll's portrayal of a combined battle-force of angels and men.

A few passages indicate expressly that angels are in "communion" (70' (693)) with the warriors (1 QM 1.11; 7.6; 12.4).

Especially important as corroborative evidence are the phrases :

the congregation of angels and the assembly of men (1.10b),
the war-cry of angels and men (1.11b).

Relevant details of the battle-host are most obvious in Col. 12 .

The following statements are worthy of note :

For a multitude of holy ones Thou hast in the heavens and hosts of angels in Thy holy habitation to praise Thy name. The elect ones of the holy nation Thou didst place for Thyself in a community; and the enumeration of the names of all their host is with Thee in Thy holy abode , and the number of the holy ones in the habitation of Thy glory.

(lines 1-2; cf supra p 188)

.... to muster the hosts of Thine elect by their thousands and their myriads together with Thy holy ones and the host of Thine angels, for strength of hand in battle

(4-5a)

.... the congregation of Thy holy ones are amongst us for eternal alliance

(6)

.... the King of Glory is with us, a people of saints; mighty men and a host of angels are among those mustered with us, the Mighty One of war is in our congregation, and the host of His spirits is with our steps, and our horsemen are like rain-clouds and like clouds of dew covering the earth

(7-8)

The battle-host of angels and men is also clearly portrayed in a passage (in part restored) at the end of Col. 15 :

But ye be courageous and be strong for the battle of God
.... The God of Israel is raising His hand in His wondrous might against all the spirits of wickedness. The battalions of the mighty angels are girding themselves for battle, and the arrays of the saints are preparing themselves for a day of vengeance

(lines 12b-15)

With this idealistic portrayal of the cosmic battle the tradition-history of holy war receives its ultimate literary and theological presentation. The unique combination of angelic and human armies may be compared with features of the ancient Song of Deborah (cf supra p 187), but are more especially to be related to the supernatural imagery and angel-presentation of Second Maccabees.

Conclusion

The practical revival of holy war in the historical setting of the Maccabaeen Revolt is of foremost importance for the presentation and development of the holy war tradition in the Qumran War Scroll, and must have given considerable impetus to the idealistic portrayal of the battle situation envisaged in the latter. Especially helpful in this respect are P.R. Davies' cogent arguments for the Maccabaeen/Hasmonaeen origin of much of the literary material in the Scroll.

Examination of 1 QM in the light of First and Second Maccabees has revealed significant points of contact between the portrayal of Maccabaeen warfare and the more elaborate literary presentation in the Scroll.

The cumulative evidence argues in favour of the general influence of Maccabaeen warfare on 1 QM, especially in relation to the common taking up of traditional elements of holy war theory and practice. Particular details, especially those which indicate development of, or departure from the Old Testament war tradition, provide more positive links between the Maccabaeen narratives and the War Scroll of Qumran.

There is, therefore, reasonable probability that the holy war tradition received not only authentic practical revival, but also meaningful historical continuity between the period of the early Maccabaeen conflict and the inception and internal development of the Qumran community.

TRADITION HISTORY OF HOLY WAR

Table of recurring practices and motifs

	Ancient War Poetry	War Narratives	Deuteronomy	Prophets	Chronicles	1 Maccabees	2 Maccabees	239 1 QM
1 Pre-battle penitential rites								
a) sacrifice		+						(+)
b) fasting		+		+	+	+	+	
c) sackcloth & ashes, tearing of garments		+		+		+	+	
d) weeping & wailing		+				+	+	
e) Mizpah		+				+		
2 Appeal to Yahweh								
a) prayer and supplication		+			+	+	+	+
b) "cry to Yahweh"	(+)	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+
c) "Arise Yahweh!"	+			(+)	(+)			+
3 Enquiry of Yahweh								
a) by cultic objects		+			+			(+)
b) by prophets		+		+		+	(+)	(+)
c) by consulting torah						+	(+)	
4 Warrior asceticism								
a) $\sqrt{27}$	+				+	+		+
b) "nāzīr"	+	+	+			+		
c) cultic purity	+	+	+	+		(+)		+
d) camp purity		(+)	+				(+)	+
e) circumcision		+				(+)		
f) "exemption"			+			+		
g) dismissal of those afraid		+	+			+	(+)	+
5 Leadership								
a) charismatic		+				+		
b) cult functionaries		+			+			+
6 War speech								
a) delivered by charismatic leader	+	+	+		+	+	+	
b) by priest			+					+
c) by officers		+	+					+
7 Recruitment by tribal levy		+	+	+	+	+		+
8 Army units		+	+			+		+

	Ancient War Poetry	War Narratives	Deuteronomy	Prophets	Chronicles	1 Maccabees	2 Maccabees	1 QM
9 Battle strategy								
a) initial attack by small force		+				+		+
b) ambush		+			+	+		+
c) three-column deployment		+				+		
10 Trumpets and horns								
a) call to arms		+		+		+		+
b) appeal to God		+			(+)	(+)		+
c) battle signals		+		+	+	+		+
d) used by warriors		+				+		+
e) used by priest		+			+			+
11 Battle shout								
a) הַרְוּ עֲנָה	(+)	+		+	+	+		+
b) battle-cry	+	+					+	+
c) liturgical emphasis					+	+	+	+
12 Battle curse								
a) formal curse	+	+						+
b) cursing wish against the enemy	+			+		(+)	(+)	(+)
c) denigration of the enemy	(+)			+				+
13 Herem								
a) complete annihilation		+	+	+		+		+
b) restricted use		+	+			(+)	(+)	(+)
c) destruction of pagan altars etc.		+	+			+	+	
d) herem and "snare of idolatry"	(+)	(+)	+			(+)		
14 Booty								
a) assigned to deity		+	+					
b) appropriated by warriors		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 Victory thanksgiving								
a) by warriors					+	+	+	+
b) by leader or cult functionaries	+	+				+	+	+

	Ancient War Poetry	War Narratives	Deuteronomy	Prophets	Chronicles	1 Maccabees	2 Maccabees	1 QM	24
16 Encouragement for battle									
a) "Fear not"									
(i) spoken by Yahweh		+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	
(ii) spoken by leader		+	+						
b) "Be strong and courageous"		+	+	+	+	(+)	(+)	+	
c) "Arise!"	+	+	+	+					
d) Assurance of victory									
(i) "I have delivered.....hand"		+	+						
(ii) "Yahweh has delivered....."		+	+			(+)		+	
e) "The battle is the Lord's"		+			+		(+)	+	
f) "Looking to Yahweh"				+	(+)		(+)		
g) "Stand still and see....."		+		(+)	+				
h) "Yahweh will be with you"		+	+	+	+			+	
i) "Yahweh goes before...."	(+)	+	+	+			(+)		
j) "Yahweh will fight for you"		+	+	+	+			+	
k) "Yahweh will destroy....."	(+)	(+)	+	(+)		+		+	
17 Yahweh as Lord of War									
a) "Yahweh is a man of war"	+		(+)	+				+	
b) "Yahweh's wars"		+			(+)			+	
c) Day of Yahweh				+				+	
d) Yahweh goes forth	+			+				+	
e) Yahweh gathers nations.....				+		(+)		+	
f) Yahweh destroys	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
g) Yahweh fought for Israel		+			+			+	
h) Yahweh delivered....into hand		+	+		+	+		+	
i) Yahweh as author of victory	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
j) Divine panic	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
k) "terrible" God	+		+	+	(+)		+	+	
l) Yahweh uses forces of nature	+	+	+	+				(+)	
m) Fire motif	+	+	+	+	+			+	
n) Cosmic hosts	+	+		+	(+)		+	+	
o) Yahweh God of Hosts	+	+		+	+			(+)	
p) Angel of God		+			+	+	+	+	
q) Presence of Yahweh in camp		+	+					+	
r) Miracle	+	+		(+)	+	+	+	+	
s) Heilsgeschichte	(+)	+	+			+	+	+	
t) Hand of God	+	+	+	+		(+)	(+)	+	
u) Sword of God				+				+	
v) יהוה DV	+	+				(+)		+	

	Ancient War Poetry	War Narratives	Deuteronomy	Prophets	Chronicles	1 Maccabees	2 Maccabees	1 QM
18 Moralistic Overtones								
a) characterisation of enemy		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
b) interpretation of calamity								
(i) as God's anger	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(ii) as punishment for sin		+	+	+	+		+	(+)
(iii) as discipline	+	+	+	+			+	+
(iv) concept of atonement		+		+			+	
19 Mental attitude to battle								
a) numbers unimportant		+	+	(+)	+	+	+	
b) contrast faith/weapons	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
c) contrast spirit/flesh				+	+			+
d) not by merit		+	+				(+)	+
20 Human fighting	+	+	+		+	+	+	+
21 Exclusion of human fighting	+	+			+		(+)	+
22 Divine & human action associated	+	+	+		+	+	+	+
23 Concept of zeal		+		(+)		+		
24 Role of Covenant		+	+	+	+	+	+	+

TRADITION HISTORY OF HOLY WAR : Textual references

1 Pre-battle penitential rites

- a) Sacrifice Ju 20.26; 21.4; 1 Sam 7.9f; 10.8; 13.9-12; 2 K 3.27;
cf 1 QM 2.5; 4.1a .
- b) Fasting Ju 20.26; 1 Sam 7.6; 14.24; 2 Chr 20.3; Joel 1.14;
2.12,15;
1 M 3.17,47; 2 M 13.12 .
- c) Sackcloth &
ashes,
tearing of
garments Josh 7.6; 2 K 18.37; 19.1,2 (=Is 36.22; 37.1,2);
1 M 3.47; 11.71f; (cf 2.14; 4.39);
2 M 10.25; 14.15; (cf 3.19) .
- d) Weeping and
wailing Ju 20.23,26; 21.2; Joel 2.12,17;
2 M 11.6; 13.12; cf 1 M 4.39; cf laments :
1 M 1.25-28,37-40; 2.7-11; 3.45; 7.17; 9.21 .
- e) Mizpah Ju 20.1; 21.2,5,8; 1 Sam 7.5-9;
1 M 3.46-56 .

2 Appeal to Yahweh

- a) Prayer and
supplication Josh 7.6-9; 1 Sam 7.5; 2 K 19.14-19 (=Is 37.24-20);
2 Chr 20.3,4,6-13; 32.2-;
1 M 3.44,50-52,53; 4.30-33; 5.33; 7.40-42;
2 M 8.2-4,14; 10.16,25,26; 11.6; 12.6,15,28,36;
13.10,12; 14.15; 15.21-24,26-27;
1 QM 15.5; cf 12.9b-11 (= 19.2b-5a); 14.16-end;
18.9end-11a .
- b) "Cry to Yahweh" Ex 14.10; Nu 20.16; Dt 26.7; Josh 24.7; Ju 3.9,15;
4.3; 6.6,7; 10.12b; 16.28; 1 Sam 7.8-9; 12.8,10;
cf 2 Sam 22.4,7(=Ps 18); 1 Chr 5.20; 2 Chr 13.14;
14.11; 18.31; 20.9; 32.20; (cf Is 19.20; Joel 1.14,19;
cf: Ps 3.4; 22.5; 56.9; 57.2; 107.6; 120.1; 143 ;
1 M 3.50a; 4.10,40; 5.31; 9.46;
1 QM 10.17 .
- c) "Arise Yahweh" Nu 10.35; (cf Ps 132.8; 2 Chr 6.41); Ps 3.7; 7.6;
9.19; 10.12; 17.13; 44.26; 68.1; 74.22; 82.8;
cf "Awake": Ps 44.23; 59.4; 80.2; 7.6; Is 51.9;
cf Zech 13.7;
1 QM 12.9; 14.16; cf "Appear Thou", 18.9end .

3 Enquiry of Yahweh

a) By cultic objects:

Ark Josh 7.6-9; 1 Sam 14.18(MT); 1 Chr 13.3; cf Ju 20.27f;
 Ephod 1 Sam 14.18(LXX); 23.6,9b-12; 30.7f;
 Urim 1 Sam 28.6; Ezr 2.63(=Neh 7.65);
 "lot" Ju 1.1ff; 20.9f; cf 1 QM 1.13,14b; 17.16; 18.1;
 unspecified Ju 20.18,23; 1 Sam 14.36f,41f; 22.10,13,15 but note,
 ephod in 21.9; 23.2,4; 2 Sam 5.19,23;

b) By prophet 1 K 22.5-9,10b-23,28; 2 K 3.11-19; 19.2-7(=Is37);
 (cf 1 Sam 28.6,15); Jer 21.1-2; 37.7;
 1 M 4.46; 14.41; cf 2 M 15.9;
 cf 1 QM 11.6-7a,7b-8a,11b-12;

c) By consulting Torah 1 M 3.48; cf 12.9; cf 2 M 8.23; 15.9;

4 Warrior asceticism

a) √277 Ju 5.2,9; Ps 110.3a; 2 Chr 17.16;
 1 M 2.42; 1 QM 7.5b; 10.5;

b) Nazirite Gen 49.26; Dt 33.16; Ju 13.5,7; 16.17; 1 M 3.49;
 hair hanging loose: Nu 6.5; Ju 5.2a; 13.5; 16.17;
 1 Sam 1.11; cf Dt 32.42b; 2 K 1.8;

c) Cultic purity/chastity 1 Sam 21.4f; 2 Sam 11.8-13; cf Ju 20.8; 1 QM 7.3b-6;
 cf: Ex 19.15; Josh 3.5; 7.13; Joel 2.16a;
 note phrase "sanctify war": Jer 6.4 (cf 51.27a,28a);
 Joel 4.9(EVV 3.9); Mic 3.5;

note term "saints": Dt 33.3; Ps 16.3; 34.10(EVV9);
 106.16(sing.); Dan 7.27; cf 1 M 7.17;
 1 QM 6.6(=16.1): 10.10; 12.7; 3.5; cf 15.14b-15a;

d) Camp purity Dt 23.10-15 cf 23.2; cf Nu 5.2-4; 31.19-24;
 cf 2 M 12.38,40; 1 QM 7.3b-5a,6b-7; 10.1;

e) Circumcision Josh 5.2-9; cf 1 M 2.46;

f) "Exemption" Dt 20.5-7; 24.5; 1 M 2.46;

g) Dismissal of fainthearted Ju 7.3; Dt 20.8;
 1 M 3.56; cf 2 M 8.13; 1 QM 10.5b-6a;

5 Leadership

a) Charismatic Ju 2.16,18; 3.9f,15,31; 4.4; 6.12-16,34; cf 13.5;
 1 M 5.62; cf 3.1-2;

b) Cult functionaries 2 Chr 20.14-17,19,21; cf Josh 6.4,6,8,12-16; Nu 31.6;
 1 QM 7.8 - 9.9; 15.4-7;

6 War Speech

- a) Delivered by charismatic leader
Ex 14.13f; Dt 1.29f; 3.22; 7.16-26; 9.1-6; 31.3-8;
Josh 6.16; 8.7; 10.19,25; Ju 3.28; 4.6,14; 5.1;
7.15b; 2 Chr 20.14-17;
1 M 3.18-22,58-60; 4.8-11; cf 13.3-7;
2 M 8.16-21; 11.7; 13.12b,14; 15.8-16;
- b) by priest
Dt 20.2-4;
1 QM 7.11a; 10.2b-4; 15.4-5(prayer); 15.6b - 16.1;
16.11b - 17.9;
- c) by officers
Dt 20.5-9; 2 Sam 10.12;
1 QM 10.5-6;

- 7 Recruitment by tribal levy
Nu 31.3-6; cf 2 Sam 24.1-10 (cf 1 Chr 27.23f);
1 Chr 12 ; 27.1-15; cf 28.1;
1 QM 2.6b-8a; cf 1 M 3.44;

terms: **קָדַשׁ** : Nu 1 - 2; 26 ; Is 13.4b;
1 QM 2.15; 12.4,7; 19.12; cf 13.10;

קָדַשׁ : Nu 31.3,5; 32.17,20,21,27,29,30,32; Dt 3.18;
Josh 4.13; 6.7,9,13; 1 Chr 12.23,24; 2 Chr 17.18;
28.14; 1 QM 2.7,8;

קָדַשׁ : Ex 13.18; Josh 1.14; 4.12;

קָדַשׁ : cf Nu 31.5a; 1 QM 3.3,12;

קָדַשׁ : Nu 1 ; 26.1; 1 Chr 12.33,36;
1 QM 2.8 (**קָדַשׁ קָדַשׁ**);

קָדַשׁ : Nu 31.33 (cf v 27b);
1 M 3.13 (**ἐκπορευομένοι εἰς πόλεμον**);

- 8 Army units
Ex 18.21,25; Dt 1.15;
1 M 3.55; 1 QM 4.1-5;

9 Battle strategy

- a) initial attack by small force
Ju 7.2,8,23ff; 1 K 20.15.17,19f; 1 M 7.43-46;
1 QM 5.3-4,15-end; 6.1-6; 7.14 - 9.4a; 9.4b-7a;
16.3-12; 17.10-end;
- b) ambush
Josh 8.14-22; Ju 20.29-43; 2 Chr 13.13; cf Ju 9.32,34,43;
1 M 9.40; (cf 10.79f; 11.68f);
1 QM 3.1b-2a,8b-9a; 9.17;
- c) three-column deployment
Ju 7.16,20,22; 9.43; 1 Sam 11.11; 2 Sam 18.2;
1 M 5.33;

10 Trumpets and horns

- a) Call to arms Ju 3.27; 6.34; 1 Sam 13.3b,4; cf 2 Sam 15.10; 20.1f; Jer 51.27; cf Nu 10.3,4,7; cf Neh 4.20; 1 M 3.54; cf 4.40f; cf 1 QM 2.15-16; 3.2b-5a;
- b) Appeal to God Nu 10.9; cf 2 Chr 13.14f; cf 1 M 3.52-54; 1 QM 10.6b-8a; cf inscription, 1 QM 3.7b;
- חצוצרות הזכרון** : 1 QM 7.12; 16.2b-3a; 18.4a;
- c) Battle signals Josh 6.4,5,8f,13,16; Ju 7.16,18ff,22; 2 Sam 20.22; 2 Chr 13.12,14; Job 39.25; Jer 4.19b; Hos 5.8; Am 2.2; Zeph 1.16; 1 M 4.13f; 5.31,33; 7.45; 9.12f; 16.8; 1 QM 3.1-11; 7.12 - 9.7; 16.2a-6,8a,10-11a; 17.10-15a; 18.3b-4a; + horns: 7.13; 8.9b-11,15,20; 9.1a; 16.6b-8a,13-14;
- d) Used by warriors Ju 3.27; 6.34; 7.16,18ff,22; 1 Sam 13.3b; 2 Sam 20.1,22; 1 M — consistently; 1 QM — levitical horn-blowers;
- e) Used by priests Nu 10.8; 31.6; Josh 6.4,6,8,9,13,16,20; 2 Chr 13.12,14; 1 QM — (trumpets) consistently;

11 Battle shout

- a) **הַרְוֵעָה** Josh 6.5,10,16,20; 1 Sam 4.5,6; cf 2 Sam 6.15; 2 Chr 13.12,15 cf 20.19; Job 39.25; Jer 4.19; 20.16 cf 50.22; Am 1.14; 2.2; Zeph 1.16; cf Nu 10.5ff,9; cf: Ps 27.6; 33.3; 47.6(EVV 5); 89.16(EVV 15); Joel 2.1; 1 M 3.54; 5.31a,31b,33; cf 4.40; 1 QM 1.11; 3.1; 7.12; 8.10,15; 16.7,8a; 17.11,13,14; 18.2;
- b) Battle-cry (formal) Ex 17.15 **יְהוָה נֶפֶשׁ** ; Nu 23.21b **הַרְוֵעַת מִלְחָמָה** ; Ju 5.14 (Hos 5.8) **אֶתְחַבֵּיךְ בְּנִימִין** ; Ju 5.21 **הַדְרֹכִי נַפְשִׁי עַל** ; Ju 7.18,20 **לִיְהוָה וְלִגְדָּעוֹן** ; cf Ex 15.3 **יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי מִלְחָמָה** ; 2 M 8.23; 13.15; cf inscriptions: 1 QM 4.6-13; also 3.2b-9,12b; 4.1-5; 2 Chr 20.19,21-22a; 1 M 5.33; 2 M 12.37; 15.25f; 1 QM 10.8b-16; Col. 11; 12.1-5,6-9a,9b-15 = 19.2b-8; 13.1b-6,7-end; 14.2,4-15; 14.16 - 15.2a; 15.4-5; 18.5 - 19.2a; 19.11-end;
- c) Liturgical emphasis

12 Battle curse

- a) Formal curse Nu 22.6,11f,17; 23.7f,11,13,23,27; 24.10; Josh 24.9; 1 Sam 17.43b; cf: Josh 6.17; Ju 5.23; 1 QM 13.1b-2a,4-6;
- b) Cursing wish against the enemy Ps 7.10(EVV9); 31.18f(EVV 17f); 35.4ff,8,26; 40.15f(EVV 14f) 55.16(EVV15); 69.22,23,25,28; 71.13; 104.35a; 109.8-15,17-20,29; 137.8f; 140.10f(EVV 9f); Jer 17.18; cf 2 M 7.34f,36b; cf inscriptions: 1 QM 3.5b-6a,6b,7b-9; 6.3; note the call for divine action against the enemy: Ps 28.4; 35.1-3; 55.24(EVV 23); 56.8(EVV 7); 59.6,11b-14a(EVV 5,10b-13a); 69.25(EVV 24); 79.6; 83.10-18(EVV 9-17); 139.19a; 143.12; 1 M 4.31-33; 7.38,42; 2 M 8.4b; 10.26b; 15.24; 1 QM 12.9b-11a (=19.2b-4a); 14.16; 18.9b-11a;
- c) Denigration of the enemy Is 13.7f; 15.4; 17.13; 19.1b,3a,16; 21.3f; 29.5,7f; 41.11f; Jer 46.5; 48.39,41,43f; 49.5,22b,23,24,29b,37a; 50.37,43; 51.32b; Ezk 26.15-18; 27.35; 30.4,9,13b; 32.9f; Hos 13.3,13; Obad 9; Nah 3.13; Zech 9.5; cf: Ps 35.4f; 37.20b; 1 QM 12.6b-7a; 14.11b-12a; 15.10b-12a; 17.4b; cf "nations of vanity": 1 QM 4.12; 6.6; 9.9;11.9;

13 Herem

- a) Complete annihilation Nu 21.2,3; Dt 7.2; 13.16f(EVV 15f); 20.16b-17; Josh 6.17,21; 10.28,35,37,39,40; 11.11,12,20,21; 1 Sam 15.3,8b; 1 K 20.42b; cf: Is 11.15a; 34.2; 43.28; Jer 25.9b; 50.21; 1 M 5.5 (cf vv 28,35,51); 1 QM 9.7; 18.5a; cf: 17.2b; 9.5b-6a; cf inscriptions: 3.9b; 4.12b;
- b) Restricted use Nu 31.7-12 (but note vv 14-18); Dt 2.34f; 3.6f; 20.13f; Josh 8.2,24-27; 11.13f; Ju 21.11f; 1 Sam 15.8a,9a,15,19,21;
- c) Destruction of pagan altars, etc. Ex 23.24; 34.12f,15f; Dt 7.5,25f; Ju 2.2; 6.25-32; 1 M 2.24f,45; 5.44,68; 10.84; 13.47f,50; 14.7b; 2 M 10.2;
- d) herem and the "snare of idolatry" Dt 7.16,24ff; 12.29f; cf 13.14-18(EVV 13-17); for "snare of idolatry" cf also: Ex 23.33; 34.12; Josh 23.13; Ju 2.3; Ps 106.36; 1 M 1.35; 5.4; cf 14.36b;

14 Booty

- a) Assigned to the deity Dt 13.16; Josh 6.21b,24; 1 Sam 15.3b;
- b) Appropriated by warriors Nu 31.9.11f,26f,32-36,53; Dt 2.35; 3.7; 20.14; Josh 8.2,27; 11.14a; 1 Sam 15.9,15a,19,21; 30.22-31; 2 Sam 23.10b; 2 Chr 14.13; 20.25; Is 10.6; Ezk 38.12f; 1 M 4.17f,23; 5.3; 7.47; 10.87; 11.48,51; 1 QM 7.2b; (with reference to God as warrior: 10.1b; 12.9b-10a,11b-12a = 19.2b-3a,4b-5a);

15 Victory thanksgiving

- a) By warriors 2 Chr 20.26,27f; 1 M 4.24 cf v 33; 5.54; 13.47b,51; 2 M 8.27,33a; 10.38; 15.28f; 1 QM 14.2a,3b-4a;
- b) By leader or cult functionaries Ex 15.1,20f; (cf 17.14; 18.9-11); Nu 10.36; (cf 21.27-30); Ju 5 : 11.34a; 1 Sam 18.6f; (cf 29.5); 1 M 7.48; cf 4.54ff; 2 M 15.34; 1 QM 18.5-6; 19.11-12,13;

16 Encouragement for battle

- a) "Fear not"
- (i) spoken by Yahweh Nu 21.34; Dt 3.2; Josh 8.1; 10.8; 11.6; cf: Is 7.4; 41.10; Jer 46.27,28; Zech 8.13b;
- (ii) spoken by leader Ex 14.13; Dt 1.29; 3.22; 7.18,21; 20.1,3; 31.6,8; Josh 10.25; 2 Chr 20.15,17b; 1 M 3.22; 4.8; 2 M 8.16; 15.8a; 1 QM 10.2-4; 15.8; 17.4a;
- b) "Be strong and courageous" Dt 31 6,7,23; Josh 1.6,7,9,18; 10.25; 2 Chr 32.7; cf: Josh 23.6; 2 Sam 10.12 = 1 Chr 19.13; "Be courageous" cf: 2 Chr 15.7; Is 35.4; Hag 2.4; cf Zech 8.9a,13b; "Be strong"; cf: 1 M 3.58; 4.18a; 2 M 8.16b,21a; 13.14b; 15.10a,11,17a; 1 QM 15.7b,12; 17.4a,9a;
- c) "Arise" Dt 2.24; Josh 1.2; 8.1b; Ju 4.14; 5.12; 7.9,15; 18.9; 1 Sam 23.4; Ps 3.8(EVV7); Is 21.5b; Jer 6.4,5; 49.28,31; Dan 7.5; Obad 1; Mic 4.13; cf: Ju 5.12; Is 52.1; "Awake";

/ d)

d) Assurance of victory

- (i) "I have delivered" ("...will deliver") Ex 23.31b; Nu 21.34; Dt 3.2a; Josh 6.2; 8.1,18; 10.8; 11.6; Ju 1.2; 4.7; 7.7,9; 20.28; 1 Sam 23.4; cf 24.4; 2 Sam 5.19; 1 K 20.13,28;
- (ii) "Yahweh has delivered" ("...will deliver") Dt 7.2,16a,23,24; cf 23.14a; 31.5; Josh 2.24; 6.16; 8.7; 10.19; Ju 3.28; 4.14; 7.15b cf v14; cf 18.10; 1 Sam 14.10,12; 17.46a,47b; 1 K 22.6,12,15 = 2 Chr 18.5,11,14; 2 K 3.18; cf 1 M 4.30-31a; 1 QM 11.2a,13;
- e) "The battle is the Lord's" 1 Sam 17.47; 2 Chr 20.15; cf "God's Victory" 2 M 13.15; 1 QM 4.12a; 6.16; 9.5b; 11.1a,2b,4b; 15.12; 18.11a,12b;
- f) "Looking to Yahweh" Is 22.8b,11; 31.1; cf Is 5.12b; cf 2 Chr 20.12b; Zech 12.10a; cf 2 M 15.8b; for reliance on divine aid, cf 2 M 8.18; 15.7;
- g) "Stand still and see..." Ex 14.13; 2 Chr 20.17; cf Is 7.4a,9b; 30.7,15;
- h) "Yahweh will be with you" Dt 7.21; 20.1,4; 31.6,8; Josh 1.5,9; Ju 6.12,16; 2 Chr 20.17b; 32.8; Jer 46.28; Zech 10.5b; cf Zeph 3.17; 1 QM 10.1,4b; 12.7,8a; 19.1;
- i) "Yahweh goes before..." Dt 1.30; 9.3; 31.3,8; Ju 4.14; 2 Sam 5.24b = 1 Chr 14.15b; Is 52.12; cf: Ex 13.21; 15.13; Nu 14.14; cf 2 M 10.1;
- j) "Yahweh will fight for you" Ex 14.14 cf v25; Dt 1.30; 3.22; 20.4; Josh 23.10; 2 Chr 32.8; cf Is 31.4b; Zech 14.3; 1 QM 10.4b; cf 1.4; 11.17a;
- k) "Yahweh will destroy..." Dt 7.10,23; 9.3; 31.3,4; cf 2 Sam 5.24b = 1 Chr 14.15b; Ps 110.5,6b; Is 11.15a; 19.22; 1 M 3.22; cf 4.10; 1 QM 1.4b,14b-15; 17.5; 18.1,11a; cf inscription: 4.12b;

17 Yahweh as Lord of war

- a) "Yahweh is a man of war" Ex 15.3; Is 42.13a; cf Ps 24.8b; (71.2.2): Dt 10.17; Neh 9.32a; Ps 24.8a; 45.4(EVV3); Is 9.5(EVV6); 10.21; 42.13a; Jer 20.11; 32.18; Zeph 3.17; 1 QM 12.8a,9b;
- b) "Yahweh's wars" Nu 21.14; 1 Sam 18.17; 25.28; cf 1 Chr 5.22; 1 QM 11.8;

/ c)

- c) Day of Yahweh Is 2.12; 13.6,9; Jer 46.10; Ezk 13.5; 30.3;
 Joel 1.15; 2.1,11; 3.4(EVV 2.31); 4.14(EVV 3.14);
 Am 5.18,20; Obad 15; Zeph 1.7,14; Zech 14.1;
 Mal 3.23(EVV 4.5); cf also: Ps 110.3a,5b; Is 13.13;
 22.5; 34.8; Ezk 7.19; Hab 3.16; Zeph 1.8,9,10,15,16,18;
 2.2,3; 3.8,11; Zech 14.4a,6-9,13a,20;
 1 QM 1.9,10,11,12; 6.15b; 7.5b; 13.14b; 15.3,12b,15a;
 17.5b;
- d) Yahweh goes forth
 (for the terminology,
 vide note (266))
 Dt 33.2; Ju 5.4; 2 Sam 22.10,14 (=Ps 18); Ps 68.8
 (EVV7); cf Ps 47.6(EVV5); Is 13.3-6; 31.4b; 42.13;
 Joel 4.16(EVV 3.16); Hab 3.3,12a,13a; Zech 14.3;
 1 QM 1.4;
 cf "shines forth": Dt 33.2; Ps 50.2; 80.2(EVV1); 94.1;
 1 QM 1.8b,16; 18.9(last word);
 cf riding heaven, cloud, wind, cherub: Dt 33.26;
 Ps 68.34(EVV 33); 104.3; Is 19.1; 2 Sam 22.11 (=Ps 18);
 cf Ps 68.5(EVV4); cf Hab 3.8b,15;
- e) Yahweh gathers nations for
 battle/
 destruction Is 13.4; Jer 50.9; Joel 4(EVV3).2,9,11,12,14;
 Mic 4.11; Zeph 3.8; Zech 14.2;
 cf 1 M 3.52a;
 1 QM 14.5b; 15.1-2a,3;
- f) Yahweh destroys
 Ex 12.13b; 14.27b; 15.1,4,7,21; 23.23,27; Nu 32.4;
 33.4; Dt 2.21,22; 7.23; 9.3; 11.4; 12.29a; 19.1;
 29.23b; 31.3,4; Josh 10.10; 24.8b; Ju 4.15a; 20.35a;
 1 Sam 5.6; 7.10; 2 Sam 5.20,24b (=1 Chr 14.11,15b);
 22.15 (=Ps 18); 2 K 21.9b; 1 Chr 5.25b; 17.8;
 2 Chr 13.15b; 14.12; 20.22; 33.9b; Ps 3.8(EVV7);
 5.11(EVV 10); 9.5; 21.9ff(EVV 8ff); 28.5; 29.5; 46.10
 (EVV 9); 55.10(EVV 9); 68.15,22a(EVV 14,21a); 78.66;
 89.11,24(EVV 10,23); 110.5; 135.10f; 136.15,17;
 Is 11.15a; 13.5b,6,9; 19.22a; 34.2; 42.14b;
 Jer 48.38b; 49.35,37,38; 51.25b; Ezk 25.7,13,16;
 26.19; 29.10,12; 30.8,13ff,21,22; 32.15; 35.4,9,14;
 39.3; Am 2.9; Zeph 2.5,13; 3.6; Hag 2.22; Zech 12.9;
 1 M 3.22; 4.10; 2 M 12.28a; cf: 8.18b; 15.24;
 1 QM 1.4b,5,10,16b; 11.10-12; 12.10b-11a = 19.3b-4a;
 13.15,16; 14.5b; 15.2; 17.5; 18.1b,2b,11a;
 cf inscriptions: 3.5b-6,8,9; 4.3b-4a,7b,12b; 6.3;
- g) Yahweh fought for Israel Josh 10.14,42; 23.3; 2 Chr 20.29; cf Ex 14.25;

- h) Yahweh delivered... into....hand
 Gen 14.20; cf Nu 21.3; cf Dt 2.33,36; 3.3;
 Josh 10.30,32 cf v12; 11.8; 21.44; 24.8,11;
 Ju 1.4; 3.10; 8.3; 11.21,32; 12.3; 1 Sam 30.23b;
 1 Chr 5.20; 2 Chr 13.16; 16.8; 24.24; 28.5,9;
 1 M 4.30b,31; 1 QM 11.2,13;
- i) Yahweh as the author of victory/deliverance
 Ex 14.13; Ju 15.18; 1 Sam 11.13; 19.5; 2 Sam 22.3,36,47,51 (=Ps 18); 2 Sam 23.10,12; 2 K 13.17;
 1 Chr 11.14; 29.11; 2 Chr 20.17; Ps 3.9(EVV 8); 20.6(EVV 5); 27.1; 35.3; 68.20f(EVV 19f); 74.12;
 98.1,2,3; 140.8(EVV 7); Is 25.8f; 52.10; Hab 3.13;
 1 M 3.19; 4.10,25; cf 9.46; 2 M 10.28,38; 12.11a; 13.15a; 15.8b,21;
 1 QM 1.5a,12b; 4.13(inscriptions); 13.13a; 14.5a; 15.1b; 18.7b,10;
- j) Divine panic
 Gen 35.5; Ex 15.14ff; 23.27,28; Dt 4.34; 7.20; 32.25;
 cf 34.12; Josh 24.12; cf 1 Sam 11.7f; 2 Chr 14.14;
 17.10; 20.29; Ps 9.21(EVV 20); cf Is 10.33; Is 24.17f;
 Jer 32.21; 46.5b; 48.43f; 49.5,29b; Ezk 21.17(EVV 12); 30.13b; 32.32; Lam 3.47a; Ps 48.7(EVV 6);
 1 M 4.32b; 2 M 12.22; 15.23,24; cf 3.24; 10.30;
 1 QM 1.5; 4.7b; (for **הַיְהוָה** cf Dt 7.23; 1 S 5.9,11; 14.20); cf also 1 QM 11.18 (**הַיְהוָה**);
- k) "terrible" God
 Ex 15.11; Dt 7.21; Neh 1.5; 4.8(EVV 14); 9.32a;
 Ps 47.3(EVV 2); 66.3; 68.36(EVV 35); 76.8,13(EVV 7,12); 89.8(EVV 7); cf Jer 20.11; Dan 9.4; Zeph 2.11;
 cf 1 Chr 16.25;
 2 M 1.24; 1 QM 12.6 (Yadin);
- l) Yahweh controls and uses forces of nature
 Gen 19.24; Ex 9.18f,22-25,28f,33f; 14.21f; 15.8,10,19;
 19.16,18; 20.18; Josh 10.11,12f; 24.7; Ju 5.4f,20,21;
 cf 1 Sam 2.10; 7.10b; cf 12.17,18; 14.15b; 2 Sam 22.8-16 (=Ps 18); Ps 11.6; 29.3,7,8; 50.3; 60.2; 68.9 (EVV 8); 77.17-20(EVV 16-19); 78.47,48; 83.16(EVV 15); 97.2-5; 104.3,7; 105.32; 107.25; 135.6f; 144.5f; 148.8; Is 2.19,21; 5.25,30; 13.10,13; cf 17.13b; cf 21.1; 24.18b; 28.2,17; 29.6; 30.30; 34.4; 40.24b; 66.15; Jer 4.13,24; 10.13; 23.19; 25.32; 30.23; 47.2; 50.46; Ezk 1.4; 13.11,13; 30.3,18; 32.7,8; 38.19f,22; Dan 9.26; 11.22; Joel 2.2a,10; 3.3f(EVV 2.30f); 4(EVV 3).15,16; Am 1.14; 5.18,20; 8.9; Nah 1.3b,5,8; Hab 3.5,6b,10,11; Zeph 1.15b; Hag 2.6,17,21; Zech 7.14a; 9.14;
 cf 1 QM 10.11b-13; 11.17-18; 12.8b-9a = 19.1b-2a;

m) Fire motif

(i) theophany

Ex 3.2; 13.21f; 19.18; 24.17; 40.38; Nu 9.15,16;
Dt 4.11f,15,33,36; 5.4f,22-26; 9.10,15; 10.4; 18.16b;
"fire from heaven" (sacrifice): Ju 6.21; 1 K 18.24,38;
1 Chr 21.26; 2 Chr 7.1,3; cf Ezk 1.4,13,27b; 8.2;
destroying fire from Yahweh: Lev 10.2; Nu 11.1-3;
16.35; 26.10; cf Dt 4.24; cf 2 K 1.10,12,14;
Ps 106.18;

(ii) warrior
theophany

Is 29.6; 30.30; 64.1f; Ezk 38.22; Joel 2.3,5; 3.3
(EVV 2.30); Am 1.14; 7.4; Mic 1.4; Nah 1.5f;
thus also: 2 Sam 22.9,13 (=Ps 18); Ps 11.6; 50.3;
97.3; cf Dt 32.22;

(iii) indicative
of Yahweh's
warrior
activity

Is 9.5; 10.16; 31.9; 47.14; 66.15f; Jer 48.45;
50.32b; Ezk 24.9f; 30.8,14,16; 39.6; Hos 8.14b;
Am 1.4,7,10,12; 2.2,5; 5.6; Obad 18; Nah 3.13b,15a;
Zech 9.4b; 11.1; 12.6; Mal 3.19(EVV 4.1);
cf: Nu 21.28; Dt 9.3; 2 K 1.10,12,14; Lam 1.3b; 4.11b;
cf 1 QM 11.10;

(iv) the fire
of Yahweh's
anger

Dt 32.22; Ps 21.9; Is 30.27; 66.15b; Jer 15.14;
21.12; Lam 2.4b; Ezk 21.31f; 22.21f,31; 38.19;
Nah 1.6; fire of His jealousy: Zeph 1.18; 3.8;
1 QM 14.1,17b-18a;

n) Cosmic hosts

Gen 32.3(EVV 2); Ju 5.20; 2 K 2.11; 6.17; 7.6 (cf
2 Sam 5.24); Ps 68.18(EVV 17); Is 13.4f; Joel 2.2-5,
7-11; 4.11b(EVV 3.11b); Hab 3.16end; cf 2 Chr 20.22;
2 M 2.21a; 3.24-27; 5.2ff; 10.29f; 11.8ff;
1 QM 1.10,11; 7.6; 12.1,4,5,7b,8; 15.14; 19.1b;
"holy ones": Dt 33.2; Ps 89.6,8(EVV 5,7); Is 13.3;
Dan 4.17; (sing. Dan 4.13,23; 8.13); Zech 14.5;
1 QM 1.16; 12.1,2,4,6; 10.12; 18.2; cf 15.14;

o) Yahweh God
of hosts

1 Sam 1.3,11; 4.4; 15.2; 17.45; 2 Sam 5.10; 6.2,18;
7.8,26,27; 1 K 18.15; 19.10,14; 2 K 3.14; 1 Chr 11.9;
17.7,24; Ps 24.10; 46.8(EVV 7); 48.9(EVV 8); 59.6(EVV 5);
69.7(EVV 6); 80.5,8,15,20(EVV 4,7,14,19); 84.2,4,9,13
(EVV 1,3,8,12); 89.9(EVV 8); Hos 12.5; Am 3.13; 4.13;
5.14,15,16,27; 6.8,14; 9.5; Mic 4.4; Nah 2.13; 3.5;
Hab 2.13; Zeph 2.9,10; Hag 1.2,5,7,9,14; 2.4,6-9,11,23
— most frequent on Isaiah, Jeremiah, Zechariah and
Malachi.

cf 2 M 3.24 ("Ruler of spirits and of all powers")
for "hosts" cf 1 QM 12.1,4,7b,8a; cf 10.11b ("host
of luminaries"); cf 14.16a; 18.6b ("God of angels");

p) Angel of God

angel who leads: Gen 24.7b,40; Ex 14.19a; 23.20,23;
32.24; 33.2;

angel who smites: 2 Sam 24.16,17; 2 K 19.35;
1 Chr 21.12,15,16,18; 2 Chr 32.21; (cf Nu 22.22-26,
31-35; Josh 5.13f):

1 M 7.41; 2 M 11.6 (cf vv 8,10; 3.24ff); 15.23;

1 QM 13.10; 17.6,7; cf 9.15-16; (for Michael, cf
Dan 10.13,21; 12.1);

q) Presence of
Yahweh/angels
in camp

Dt 23.15(EVV 14); Nu 5.3;

1 QM 10.1; 7.6; (context, ritual purity)

r) Miracle

Ex 14.16,21f,27-30; 15.1b,4-8,10,19,21b; Dt 4.34a;
Josh 6.20; 2 K 19.35 = 2 Chr 32.21a; 2 Chr 20.17,24;
1 M 7.41f; 2 M 8.18f; 15.21b; cf 3.30a,36;
1 QM 19.9b-11a; cf 1.14b-15; 11.11-12;

note also, Yahweh "doing wonders":

Ex 3.20; 15.11; 34.10; Josh 3.5; 1 Chr 16.12;
Neh 9.17a; Ps 72.18; 77.15(EVV 14); 78.11,12; 86.10;
98.1; 105.5; 106.21b-22; 136.4; Is 25.1; 29.14;
Joel 2.26; Mic 7.15;

1 QM 11.9; 13.9; 14.5; 15.13; 18.7,9;

s) Yahweh's
acts as
Heilsgeschichte

Ex 19.4; 20.2; Dt 5.6,15; 6.21-25; 26.5-9;
Josh 3.3-10; 24.3-13,17f; 1 Sam 10.18; Ps 105.27-44;
106.8-11;

1 M 4.9,30; 7.41; 2 M 12.15; 8.18,19,20; 15.22;

1 QM 11.1b-3,9-10b,11-12;

t) Hand of God

Ex 3.20; 7.5; 9.15; 13.3,9,14,16; 15.6,12; Dt 2.15;
3.24; 4.34; 5.15; 6.21; 7.8,19; 9.26; 11.2; 26.8;
1 Sam 5.6,7,9,11; 6.3,9; 7.13; Ps 44.3f(EVV 2f); 98.1;
136.12; 138.7; Is 11.15; 14.26,27; 19.16; 23.11;
31.3; Jer 21.5; 51.25; Ezk 20.5f,28,33f; 25.7,13,16;
35.3; 36.7; Zeph 2.13; cf Josh 4.24;

cf 2 M 3.29; 6.26b;

1 QM 1.14b; 11.1,11 cf 8a; 13.13a,14a; 15.13b; 18.1,3,10;
cf 12.10a = 19.3b; & inscriptions: 3.8; 4.3,7;

(arm of God: Ex 6.6; 15.16; Dt 4.34; 5.15; 7.19; 9.29;
11.2; 26.8; 2 K 17.36; Ps 44.4(EVV 3); 89.11(EVV 10); 98.1;
136.12; Is 30.30; 51.9; 52.10; Jer 21.5; Ezk 20.33,34;
2 M 15.24);

/ cf

cf "might (*חֲזָקָה*) of God" :

Dt 3.24; 1 Chr 29.11,12; 2 Chr 20.6; Job 12.13; 26.14;
Ps 20.7(EVV 6); 21.14(EVV 13); 65.7(EVV 6); 66.7; 80.3
(EVV 2); 89.14(EVV 13); 106.2,8; 145.4,11,12; 150.2;
1 QM 1.11,14; 4.12; 10.9; 11.4,9,11; 13.9,13,14;
14.5,13; 15.13; 16.1b; 18.12; cf 11.5;
2 M 3.24b,34,38b; 7.17; 9.8b; 11.4; 12.28; cf 1 M 3.19b;

u) Sword of God Is 31.8; 34.5,6; 66.16; Jer 12.12; 14.12; 24.10; 25.16,
27,29; 29.17,18; 47.6; 50.35ff; Ezk 5.17; 6.3; 14.17;
21.5,9,11,15; 29.8; 30.4; 32.10; Am 9.1; Zeph 2.12;
1 QM 12.10b = 19.4a; 15.3; 16.1; 19.11; NB 11.11-12;
with God "sharpening His weapons", 1 QM 17.1b, cf
Ezk 21.9-10,11;

v) *עַם יְהוָה* Ju 5.11b,13; 20.2; 2 Sam 1.12; cf: Ex 7.4; Josh 6.5;
1 QM 1.5; 3.12b; cf 1 M 3.55a; 4.31;

18 Moralistic overtones

a) characteris-
ation of the
enemy wickedness: Is 13.11; 14.5; Jer 51.24; Ezk 28.15f,18;
31.11; Joel 4.13(EVV 3.11); Am 1.3,6,9,11,13; 2.1;
cf: Ps 5.10,11(EVV 9,10); 9.6,18(EVV 5,17); 17.9; 27.2;
59.3,6(EVV 2,5); 64.3(EVV 2); 68.3b(EVV 2b); 74.3;
94.3,4; 139.19f; also Ex 9.27; Dt 9.4,5;
pride, arrogance: Is 2.12; 13.11; 14.11,12ff; 16.6;
Jer 48.29; 49.16; 50.31f; Ezk 27.3; 28.2,6,9,17;
29.3,9; 30.6,18; 31.10; 32.12; Obad 3,4; Zeph 2.10,15;
Zech 9.6; 10.11; cf: Ps 10.2; 17.10; 59.13(EVV 12);
94.2,4;
boasting, blaspheming, rebelling: 2 K 19.4,16,22,23 =
Is 37.4,17,23,24; Is 52.5; Jer 48.26,42; 50.24,29;
cf: Ps 5.11(EVV 10); 74.10,18; 83.3,6,13(EVV 2,5,12);
94.4; 97.7;
1 M 1.3,21,34; 2.47; 7.42; 2 M 5.17,21; 7.34,36b;
9.4b,11,28; 10.10; 8.14; 15.6,32,33; 7.34; 8.2; 13.11;
(renegade Jews): 1 M 1.52; 2.44; 3.5,6,8,15; 6.21;
7.5; 9.23,58,69,73; 11.25; 2 M 4.13;
1 QM 1.6,13; 3.8,9a; 4.3a,4a,12b; 6.3b,6,16; 9.8,9;
11.9a,10b,11a,14a; 12.11a; 13.4,5a,11,15; 14.3a,7b,
9b,10,11a,12,13,16b; 15.2a,9,11b,14a; 17.1b-2a,5b-6a;
"darkness" motif: 1.1,7,8,10,11,14,16; 3.6b,9;
13.5b,11,12,15,16; 14.17a; 15.9b; 16.9; 17.16;

4מִצְדָּ-יָד : Dt 13.14(EVV 13); Ju 19.22; 20.13; 1 Sam 2.12; 10.27;
 1 K 21.10,13; 2 Chr 13.7; (sing.: 1 Sam 1.16;
 25.17,25; 2 Sam 20.1);
 cf 1 M 1.11,34; 10.61; 11.21;
 cf 1 QM 1.1,13; 4.2; 11.8; 15.2-3; 18.1;

b) theological interpretation of calamity

(i) as God's anger Is 13.9,13; 30.27,30; 34.2; 63.3,6; 66.15; Jer 10.10;
 25.15; 50.13; 51.45; Ezk 21.31; 25.14; 30.15;
 38.18,19; Mic 5.15; Nah 1.2,6; Hab 3.8,12; Zeph 3.8;
 cf: Ps 7.7(EVV 6); 21.10(EVV 9); 59.14(EVV 13); 69.25
 (EVV 24); 78.49f; 79.6; 110.5; cf Ex 15.7; 1 Sam 28.18;
 against Israel/Judah: Is 1.4; 9.12,19,21; 10.5f;
 Jer 18.20,23; 21.5; 23.19f; 25.37; 30.23f; 32.37a;
 36.7b; 42.18; Lam 1.12; 2.1,3,21f; Ezk 5.13,15;
 7.3,8,12,14,19; 13.13,15; 22.22,31a; 43.8; Dan 9.16;
 cf 11.36; Hos 5.10; Zeph 1.15,18; 2.2,3; Zech 7.12;
 10.3; cf: Ps 74.1; 78.31; 95.11; 106.40; cf Dt 29.23f
 27f; 2 Chr 24.18;

vengeance Is 34.8; 35.4; 47.3; 59.18; 63.4; 66.6; Jer 46.10;
 50.15,28; 51.6,11,36,56; Ezk 25.14,17; Mic 5.15;
 Nah 1.2; cf: Ps 94.1; 149.7; cf Dt 32.35,41,43;
 Ju 11.36b;
 against Israel/Judah: Ezk 9.10; 24.8; Hos 9.7;
 cf Jer 11.20; 20.12; cf Ps 99.8;

judgment Is 34.5; Jer 51.47,52; Ezk 25.11; 28.22,26; 30.14,19;
 39.21; Joel 4(EVV 3).12,14; Hab 1.12; cf: Ps 9.17,20
 (EVV 16,19); 149.9;
 against Israel/Judah: Jer 1.16; Ezk 5.8,10,15; 11.9;
 Hos 5.11; 10.4;

2 M 4.38b; 7.19,31,35,36b; 8.11b; 9.4b,18a;
 against the Jews: 1 M 1.64; 2.49b; 3.8b;
 2 M 5.17,20b; 7.33a,38a; 8.5b;

1 QM 1.4; .6.5b,6a,15b; 7.5b; 11.13b,14,16; 13.17;
 14.1,18; 15.3,6b,13,15; 17.1; 18.13;
 inscriptions: 3.6,7b,9b; 4.1b,6b,12; 6.3;

(ii) as punishment for sin Nu 14.22f,27-30,32-35; 32.10f,13; Dt 1.34f; 4.25-28;
 31.16ff,29; Josh 23.15f; Ju 2.11-15; 3.5-8,12ff;
 4.1ff; 6.1-6; 10.6-9; 13.1; 1 K 9.6-9 = 2 Chr 7.19-22;
 11.11; 14.9-11,15f,22-26; 15.25-30; 21.20-24;
 2 K 13.2f; 15.18f; 18.11f; 21.11-16; 22.16f = 2 Chr

34.24f; 23.32f; 23.37 - 24.4; 24.9-11;
 2 Chr 28.2-5; 29.6-9; 33.2-11; 36.5f,14-17;
 Ezr 9.13; Neh 9.26-37; 13.18; Ps 106.24-29,34-43;
 107.33f; 149.7b; Is 13.11; Jer 2.19; 6.19; 7.30-34;
 11.10f; 13.22-25; 16.10-13; 18.15ff; 19.3-9; 21.24;
 24.8-10; 25.6-11; 32.28-35; 42.13-18; 44.2-6,11-14,
 21ff; 46.25; Ezk 5.11-17; 6.11-14; 7.3,8; 14.13;
 39.23; Dan 9.7b,8,11,16; Hos 5.5; 8.13b; Zeph 1.8,9,12;
 2 M 4.16; 5.17,18a,20b; 6.12-16; 7.18,32,38;
 cf 1 QM 16.13b-15; 17.2;

(iii) as
discipline

Ex 15.25b; 16.4b; 20.20; Dt 8.2,16; Ju 2.22; 3.1,4;
 Jer 30.11; 46.28b; Dan 11.35; 12.10a; Hab 1.12;
 2 M 6.12b; 7.33; 10.4; 1 QM 16.9b,13;

motif of refining and testing metal:

Ps 66.10; Is 1.25; 48.10; Jer 9.7; Ezk 22.18-22;
 Zech 13.9; Mal 3.2,3;

note, "the furnace of affliction", Is 48.10; and
 Egypt as an "iron furnace": Dt 4.20; 1 K 8.51;
 Jer 11.4;

1 QM 17.1,9;

(iv) concept of
atonement

righteous or zealous action: Nu 25.8,11; (Ps 106.30);
 Josh 7.24ff; cf: Ex 32.26-29; Zeph 2.2f;
 1 M 3.8; cf 2 M 8.5;

suffering or death: Is 55.3-9,11f; cf Ex 32.32;
 (Ps 106.23): note also 1 Sam 3.14;
 2 M 7.37f (cf v 33b);

19 Mental attitude to battle

a) numbers
unimportant

Dt 7.7,17; 20.1; Josh 23.10; Ju 7.2,7; 1 Sam 14.6b;
 1 K 20.13,28; 2 Chr 14.11; 16.8; 20.12,15; 24.24;
 32.7; Ps 3.7(EVV 6); 33.16; 105.12; cf: Is 29.7f;
 31.1; Hos 10.13b;
 1 M 3.18,19; 4.8; 2 M 8.16b,20;

b) contrast
faith/weapons

Dt 20.1; Josh 24.12b; Ju 5.8b; 7.2b; 1 Sam 2.9b;
 17.38f,45,47,50; cf 13.19,22; 2 K 6.14-17; (cf 2.12;
 13.14); 18.24b = Is 36.9b; 19.23 = Is 37.24;
 2 Chr 16.7f; Ps 20.8(EVV 7); 33.16f; 44.4(EVV 3);
 cf 147.10; Is 31.1,8; Hos 1.7; 10.13b; Am 2.14ff;
 1 M 4.31,32; 2 M 8.18; 15.11,21;
 1 QM 11.2,4b-5,11b-12; 14.11b; 17.4b;

- c) contrast spirit/flesh 2 Chr 32.8a; Is 31.3a; Jer 17.5; Zech 4.6;
cf Ps 56.5(EVV 4);
1 QM 11.4b-5; cf 14.5-8a; (note characterisation of the faithful as "poor" etc.: 11.9,10a,13; 13.14a; 14.5,6-7,14b;
- d) not by merit Dt 9.4ff; Ju 7.2b; cf 2 M 8.15a;
1 QM 11.4a;
- 20 Human fighting Ex 17.10,13; Nu 21.24f; Dt 29.7f; Josh 6.20b-21; 7.3ff; 8.19,21-26; 10.28,33-41; 11.10ff,14,17f,21; 12.1,6,7; 13.21; 19.47; Ju 1.8-13,17f; cf 2.16; 3.31; 4.16; 5.15a,18,23; 8.11f; 9.43ff,49,52; 12.4ff; 20.20f,24f,31-34,36-48; 1 Sam 4.2,10; 11.11; 13.3; 14.31,47f; 15.7f; 17.52; 18.6f cf 21.11); 19.8; 30.17; 31.1ff = 1 Chr 10.1ff; 2 Sam 8.1-5 cf 1 Chr 18.1-5; 10.13,17f cf 1 Chr 19.14,17f; 12.26,29 cf 1 Chr 20.1; 21.15; 21.18-22 cf 1 Chr 20.4-7; 1 K 22.29-35 cf 2 Chr 18.28-34; 2 K 3.24; 8.21 cf 2 Chr 21.9; 14.7 cf 2 Chr 25.11; 2 Chr 26.6; 27.5a; 35.20,22f;
1 M 5.3,5,7,21f,28,43f,50f,65; 6.6,19f,42; 7.32; 9.14-18,66ff; 10.75-85; 11.68f,72ff; 13.43; 16.7-10; 2 M 12.9,19;
1 QM 1.12-14a; 2.6b-8a,10-14; 5.15 - 6.16; 7.14 - 9.9; 14.2-3; 15.1; 16.3-8,9-13; 17.9,10-17; 18.3b-5a,11b;
- 21 Exclusion of human fighting Ex 14.13f,27f,30; 15.1b,4-8,10,12,19,21; Josh 24.8,12; 2 K 19.35 = Is 37.36 cf 2 Chr 32.21; 2 Chr 20.15,17,24 cf 2 M 10.29-31;
1 QM 1.14b-15; 11.1,4b-5,11-12, (cf 15-end); 17.4b-6; 18.1-3a,9-11a; 19.9-11a;
- 22 Association of divine and human action Ex 23.31; Nu 21.2f; Dt 2.33f; 3.3-6; 7.2,16a,20,22, 23,24; 9.3; cf 33.27; Josh 6.20f; 10.10f,30,32,42; 11.8; Ju 1.4f,19; 3.28ff; 4.15f,23f; 5.18 + 20; 6.16; 7.19-25; 11.21,32f; 20.35; 1 Sam 7.10f; 14.6b,10,12b-15; 17.46; 23.4f; 2 Sam 5.19f,24f cf 1 Chr 14.10f,15f; 22.35-41 (=Ps 18); 23.8-12 cf 1 Chr 11.11-14; 1 K 20.13,20f,28f; 2 Chr 13.14-17; 14.8-15; cf Ps 60.14(EVV 12) = 108.14(EVV 13);
1 M 3.22ff; 4.10-15,31-34; 7.42-46; 9.46-49; 2 M 8.5ff,20,24,30a; 10.16f,27f,35-38; 11.10f;

12.6,11,15f,22f,26ff,36f; 13.13-17; 15.26f;

note emphasis on divine help:

1 M 3.19,53; 12.15; 16.3b; 2 M 8.20b,23,24a,35a;
11.13; 12.11; 13.13b,17; 15.7,8,35b;

1 QM 1.9b-11; 6.5-6a,6b; 7.6b; 11.13-14; 12.4-5,6,
7-9a; 13.15-end; 14.5-8a; 15.12b-end; 16.1;
18.11b - 19.2a;

23 Concept of zeal

Nu 25.11,13; 2 Sam 21.2b; 1 K 19.10,14; 2 K 10.16;
cf: Is 59.17; 42.13a;

note also: Ex 32.26-29; Ju 3.15-22,31; 4.21; 14.19;
15.4f,8,15f; 1 Sam 15.33b; 1 K 18.40; 19.17f;

1 M 2.26,27,50; cf 2.54,58;

24 Role of Covenant

covenant with ancestors:

Lev 26.45; Dt 4.31; 8.18; Ju 2.20; 1 K 8.21;
2 K 17.15; Jer 11.10; 31.32; 34.13; Mal 2.10;
1 M 2.20; 4.10; 2 M 1.2; 8.15;
1 QM 13.7; 14.8b; cf 17.3;

God keeps covenant:

Dt 7.9; 1 K 8.23; 2 Chr 6.14; Neh 1.5; 9.32; Dan 9.4;
1 QM 13.7b-8a,8b; 14.4b,8b; 18.7,8a; cf 12.3;

God remembers His covenant:

Gen 9.15,16; Ex 2.24; 6.5; Lev 26.42,45; Ps 105.8;
106.45; Ezk 16.60;
1 M 4.10; cf 2 M 1.2; 8.15;

human faithfulness to covenant:

Ex 19.5; 24.7; 34.12,15; Dt 4.23; 29.9; 33.9;
Josh 23.6; 24.14,25ff; 2 K 23.3; 2 Chr 15.12; Ps 25.10;
44.18(EVV 17); 74.20; 103.18; Is 56.4,6;
1 M 1.63; 2.20,27,50;
1 QM 10.10a; 14.9b-10a; 17.8b;

human breaking of covenant:

Dt 29.25; 31.16,20; Josh 7.11,15; Ju 2.20;
1 K 19.10,14; 2 K 18.12; Ps 78.10,37; Is 24.5; Jer 11.1;
31.32; 34.18; Ezk 16.59; 17.19; 44.7; Dan 11.30.32;
Hos 6.7; 8.1; Mal 2.8,10;
1 M 1.15a; 7.18;
1 QM 1.2 .

- (1) F. Steiner, Tabu, 1956 p 60.
- (2) G. von Rad, Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel, 4te Aufl. 1965 p 29; cf von Rad, Old Testament Theology, 1962 vol 1 p 277. R. de Vaux notes the sacral character of all Israelite institutions, Ancient Israel, E.T. 1961 p 258.
- (3) G. von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 14 (J. Wellhausen, Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte, 3te Aufl. p 26). M. Weippert agrees, Heiliger Krieg in Israel und Assyrien, ZAW 84 1972 p 461. R. Smend disagrees, Yahweh War and Tribal Confederation, E.T. 1970 pp 36f.
- (4) G. von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 29.
- (5) F. Schwally, Semitische Kriegsaltertümer I: Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel, 1901 p 63.
- (6) M. Hengel, Die Zeloten 1961 p 278; cf von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 7.
- (7) G. Fohrer, History of Israelite Religion, E.T. 1970 p 118.
- (8) W. Eichrodt, Theology of the Old Testament, 1967 vol 1 p 459.
- (9) G. von Rad, Old Testament Theology, vol 1 p 205 (H. Ringgren, The Prophetic Conception of Holiness, p 13).
- (10) G. von Rad, Old Testament Theology, vol 1 p 273.
- (11) J. Pedersen, Israel, 1940 vol 2 pp 7,8,18,20; cf ibid p 12: "holiness has its root in the soul, it is a common force impregnating all the warriors. Not merely they themselves but everything that belongs to them is pervaded by the same force"; ibid p 264: "Israelite warriors acquired it (i.e. holiness) and maintained it as long as the war lasted".
Note von Rad's critical reference to Pedersen, Der heilige Krieg, pp 30f.
- (12) G. von Rad, Old Testament Theology, vol 1 p 238; M. Weippert agrees, ZAW 84 p 462.
- (13) L. Köhler, Old Testament Theology, 1957 p 26.
- (14) R. de Vaux, op.cit. p 259; G. von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 9.
- (15) R. Smend, op.cit. p 38.
- (16) R. Smend, op.cit. p 37. From a different point of view F. Stolz maintains: "what constitutes Yahweh war is not cultic praxis but historical experience", Jahwehs und Israels Kriege, ATANT 60 1972 p 198.
- (17) R. Smend, op.cit. p 37.
- (18) NEB does in fact translate "proclaim" or "declare a holy war" in the Micah and Joel passages; consistency of translation might have rendered a similar wording for Jer 6.4.
- (19) G. von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 21.

- (20) Von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, pp 25foot-26,70; OT Theology vol 1 p 17.
Note von Rad's interpretation of the phrases עַם יְהוָה (Ju 5.11) and מִן־הָעָם יִשְׁלַח מִלְחָמָה (Ju 20.2) as "the amphictyonic levy of men", Der heilige Krieg, p 7.

Y. Kaufmann assumes the existence of a unified confederation of tribes at Kadesh before the invasion of Canaan, Religion of Israel 1961 pp 141f.

E.W. Nicholson assumes a pre-monarchic Israelite amphictyony, Deuteronomy and Tradition, 1967 pp 49,50,52,63.

- (21) Von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, pp 26,32,70.

- (22) Von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 24.

M. Weber regards most of the wars in the period of the Judges as campaigns of individual war-lords and their followers, and argues that since there are only three cases of the levy of the whole confederate army then these are the only cases of holy war; the battles referred to are the Deborah-Barak battle (Ju 4), the campaign against Benjamin (Ju 20), and Saul's battle against the Ammonites (1 Sam 11); Ancient Judaism, 1960 edition, p 44.

- (23) A note in 1 Samuel 13.19-22 indicates that the Israelites were without blacksmiths; cf H.G. May, in Peake's Commentary on the Bible, 1962, 93c.

- (24) R. de Vaux, op.cit. p 216.

The term מִלְחָמָה denotes the tribal quota mustered for military service; note especially Numbers 31.4-6; cf M. Noth, History of Israel, ET 1960, p 107.

The term is frequent in military references:

Josh 4.13; 7.3,4; 8.3,12; 22.21,30; Ju 4.6,10,14; 5.8; 8.10; 20.2 & passim; 1 Sam 8.12; 11.8; 13.2; 17.18; 18.13; 22.7; 24.1; 26.2; 2 Sam 6.1; 10.6; 17.1; 18.1,4; 19.17; 24.9; 1 K 5.13; 12.21; 20.15; 2 K 13.7.

- (25) M. Noth, OT Library Exodus, 1962, p 150.

Military units of a thousand and a hundred (Nu 31.48; 2 Sam 18.1; 1 Chr 26.26; 2 Chr 25.5) and units of fifty (2 K 1.9-14; Is 3.3) are attested for the monarchic period. The unit of a thousand is universally applied to the armies in the periods of the Judges and the Monarchy (cf previous note).

- (26) The formula indicates the following sequence:

the children of Israel did evil in the sight of Yahweh....Yahweh was angry and delivered them into the hand of an enemy....they cry to Yahweh....Yahweh raised up a deliverer who delivered them;

thus: Ju 3.7ff, 12-15a; for comparable but incomplete formulation, cf Ju 2.11,14,16,18; 4.1,3; 6.1,6b-8a; cf also Ju 10.6-14; 13.1,5; 1 Sam 12.9ff.

The later Deuteronomistic assessment and formulation do not detract from the ancient tradition of tribal heroes in the role of charismatic war leaders.

- (27) Von Rad gives the professionals the distinctive name "Söldner" in contrast to the cultic "Heerbann", Der heilige Krieg, p 35.

- (28) For Solomon's reign we have no record of a foreign war. His military contribution was the building up of a defensive standing army in keeping with his aim to consolidate the Kingdom of his father. Perhaps much of the opposition to monarchy is a reaction to the kingship of Solomon; cf Samuel's diatribe against the despotic

monarch, 1 Sam 8.10-18, and the later Deuteronomic provisions for limiting royal power, Dt 17.14-20; cf M. Noth, History of Israel, p 216; T.H. Robinson, History of Israel, 1948 vol 1 ch. 11.

(29) R. de Vaux states in summary form :

"the strictly sacred character of war disappeared with the advent of the monarchy and the establishment of a professional army.... the King leads his people out and fights its wars (1 Sam 8.20)these rites (sc. of holy war) became accessory things, mere trappings...." R. de Vaux, op.cit. p 236.

J.H. Hayes writes in similar vein and attribute two changes to the re-organisation of the army:

"....war was no longer undertaken under the call from an inspired leader.... Warfare tended to lose its Yahweh-orientated and defensive character."

"Military undertakings became a policy of state under the direction of the King for the expansion of the national interest. These facts meant that war lost much of its sacral character and assumed a more secular role."

J.H. Hayes, The Oracles against the Nations in the Old Testament, Princeton, 1964, p 52.

Similarly, M. Noth makes a qualified assessment of David's wars:

"David took the Ark to war as if he were still waging a 'holy war'. But his army was not pure Israelite."

M. Noth, History of Israel, p 198.

Again, von Rad asserts:

"....charismatic leadership in war died away with the rise of the state..... The army was mechanised by the change to mercenary soldiers and the techniques of the chariot: Israel let everything which had to do with warfare fall into the realm of the secular. This meant that the main field of Yahweh's activity, his action in history, and his protection of Israel, were lost to Yahwism."

Von Rad, Theology of the Old Testament, vol 1 p 95.

(30) It is important to note von Rad's outline of the tradition-history of holy war. An explicit statement is found in Der heilige Krieg, p 79.

Here von Rad indicates that the break-up of the institution of holy war (by reason of the changes in warfare in the monarchic period) was followed by a time of literary elaboration of the ideology of holy war (post-Solomonic "Novellistik", ibid pp 33-50).

Then, after the concepts of holy war had been developed in the prophetic movement, the institution itself was revived in the time of Josiah.

Finally, with the collapse of the institution, and the end of all military activity in the catastrophes of B.C. 608, 596 and 587, there again appeared a literary output, this time in theological form, in the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic literature and in the historical work of the Chronicler.

(31) Von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 36.

(32) Cf M. Weippert, ZAW 84, p 491; von Rad notes the passage, but with a degree of qualification, Der heilige Krieg, p 37.

(33) M. Weippert, ZAW 84, pp 491f.

(34) Von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, pp 20f, 33.

- (35) Von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 34.

M. Noth affirms that Saul's kingship was linked to the calling of a charismatic leader (History of Israel, p 176), and considers that this may have been a weakness in the early monarchy (ibid pp 224,229).

- (36) Von Rad, Old Testament Theology, vol 1 p 36; von Rad notes the opposition when charismatic leadership was transformed into a monarchy.

- (37) In the later account the people demand a king and Saul is elected by lot at Mizpah (1 Sam 8; 10.17-27a; 12;). Cf von Rad, Old Testament Theology, vol 1 pp 325foot-326.

- (38) Note the similarity between 1 Samuel 9.16 and the description of the call of the "major" judge (Ju 3.9,15; cf also Ju 2.16,18; 6.14; 13.5).

Elsewhere the term **7'j]** is applied to the king-deliverer appointed by Yahweh: thus, with reference to David, 2 Sam 5.2; 7.8; cf 2 Sam 3.18; and, less explicitly, to Jeroboam, 1 K 14.7, Baasha, 1 K 16.2a, and Hezekiah, 2 K 20.5.

- (39) Thus a brief reference to Tola ben Puah indicates that he "arose to defend Israel" and that he "judged Israel twenty-three years" (Ju 10.1f). Similarly, on the later life of Jephthah Judges 12.7 comments that he "judged Israel six years". Note also the narrative in 1 Samuel 7.3-17 where Samuel's participation in pre-battle rites of holy war and in the subsequent victory (vv 9f,12) is followed by a reference to his role as judge (vv 15ff). The case of Gideon may also be cited in connection with the change from war-leader to king, although Gideon declines to be made king (Ju 8.22f).

R. Smend presents some discussion on the point (op.cit. pp 46-55, 60.71).

The case of Moses may also be relevant: Moses is presented firstly as charismatic leader and deliverer, then as lawgiver and judge; cf Smend, ibid pp 127f.

- (40) Cf von Rad, Old Testament Theology, vol 1 pp 39f; Der heilige Krieg, p 35.

- (41) The principle is clearly enunciated in Nathan's prophecy (2 Sam 7.9,11-14a,16; cf vv 25-29); cf M. Noth, History of Israel, p 224; von Rad, Old Testament Theology, vol 1 p 40.

- (42) J.H. Hayes, op.cit. p 55 n38, considers that in Israel "the foundation of kingship rested more on a charisma conferred by Yahweh....", and notes that A. Alt distinguishes most sharply between kingship in Israel and Judah (Alt, Das Königtum in den Reichen Israel und Juda, Kleine Schriften II pp 116-134; Königtum in Israel, RGG 3te Aufl. col. 1709-1712). Alt's distinction is challenged by T.C.G. Thornton, Charismatic Kingship in Israel and Judah, JTS 14, 1963 pp 1-11.

Hayes also notes that "secularisation of warfare was much less radical in the Northern Kingdom where much of the older charismatic traditions survived", op.cit. p 52 n28.

For charismatic kingship in the Northern Kingdom, cf also von Rad, Old Testament Theology, vol 1 pp 42,323; vol 2 p 28.

- (43) Thus, with reference to Jeroboam (1 K 11.31,37; 14.7-8a), Baasha (1 K 16.2f), Jehu (1 K 19.16a; 2 K 9.3-6), Ahab (1 K 21.21f; 2 K 9.7ff).

Note also the use of the Hiph'il of **71p** to denote Yahweh's /"raising"

"raising" of chosen men: "judges" Ju 2.16,18; a "deliverer" Ju 3.9,15; a "faithful priest" (Samuel) 1 Sam 2.35; a prophet Dt 18.15,18; prophets Jer 29.15; prophets and nazirites Am 2.11.

Significantly, the term is also applied to Yahweh's raising up of kings: 2 Sam 23.1; 1 K 14.14; Jer 30.9; cf: 1 Sam 24.10; 2 Sam 3.10; 7.12,25; 1 K 9.5(=2 Chr 7.18); 15.4.

(44) M. Weippert, ZAW 84, p 492.

(45) P.C. Craigie, Ancient Semitic War Poetry (M.Th., thesis, Aberdeen), 1968, pp 73ff,77f.

One Biblical incident shows remarkable similarity to Akkadian practice. According to 2 Kings 19.14 (cf 2 Chr 32.17) Hezekiah takes Sennacherib's letter (presumably an ultimatum) to the Temple, lays it before Yahweh, and makes his complaint against the Assyrians (cf 2 K 19.16ff). This procedure Craigie notes in an Akkadian text (op.cit. p 75).

J.A. Montgomery, ICC Kings, 1951 p 491, refers to a letter from Esarhaddon to Baalu, King of Tyre, which sought to impose a treaty, and which contained curses.

A.R. Johnson, Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel, 1967 pp 13f., notes in general the close connection of the king with the cultus.

(46) Von Rad, Old Testament Theology, vol 1 p 97.

Von Rad understands the designation of the prophet as "the chariotry and horsemen of Israel" (2 K 2.12; 13.14) as expressing "unmistakable opposition to the technical secularisation of warfare" (ibid p 98).

(47) Von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, pp 53,54,55,56.

In his examination of Isaiah 7.1-9 von Rad considers that in the calamity of the Syrian-ephraimitic war Isaiah "actualised the old ordinances of holy war" (ibid pp 57foot-58). Von Rad concludes that "the old tradition of holy war has found a powerful speaker in the Isaiah of the eighth century" (ibid p 61).

(48) Von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 54.

(49) J.H. Hayes, op.cit. p 53; R. Bach, Die Aufforderungen zur Flucht und zum Kampf, WMANT 1962, pp 92-112; cf von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 54.

(50) Cf 1 Sam 8.5. See especially A.R.Johnson, op.cit. pp 4-9,13; R. de Vaux, op.cit. pp 151f.

(51) Von Rad, Old Testament Theology, vol 1 p 96.

(52) Von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 53.

J.H. Hayes, op.cit. pp 55f., notes the association of the prophet Ahijah with Jeroboam's rebellion (1 K 11.26-39), and Elisha's support of the Jehu revolt (2 K 9.1-3). The prophetic purpose is the re-establishment of true Yahwism.

Another indication of prophetic interest in affairs of state is seen in the Chronicler's statements that certain prophets compiled court chronicles. Thus, 2 Chr 9.29 notes that the rest of the acts of Solomon are written "in the history of Nathan the prophet and in the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, and in the vision of Iddo the seer against Jeroboam"; the comparable passage in 1 K 10.41 refers only to "the book of the acts of Solomon". Similarly, 2 Chr 12.15 notes with reference to the acts of Rehoboam that they are written "in the book of Shemaiah the prophet and of Iddo the seer"; 1 K 14.29 refers to the "book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah". Again, 2 Chr 20.34 refers to the rest of the acts of Jehoshaphat as "written in the book of Jehu ben Hanani"; 1 K 22.45 refers to "the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah".

- (53) G.E. Wright, *The Lawsuit of God, in Israel's Prophetic Heritage*, editors B.W. Anderson & W. Harrelson, 1962 p 63 n68; (cf Wright, *The Rule of God*, 1960, lecture 6).
- B.B. Margulis states that pre-classical prophecy is essentially court prophecy centred in war and cult, *Studies in the Oracles against the Nations*, 1967 p 190 n58.
- Margulis deals also with the question of prophetic continuity and finds this especially related not to the cultic function of prophecy but to its political role, *ibid* p 378.
- (54) Smend considers that the existence of a prophet at such an early date may be questioned; he does however regard Deborah as a "seer who anticipated the functions of the later prophets", *op.cit.* p 60.
- (55) The appellation "mother in Israel" is reminiscent of the title "father" applied to Elijah and Elisha (2 K 2.12; 6.21; 13.14), and may therefore confirm Deborah's role and function as seer-prophetess.
- (56) P.C. Craigie, *op.cit.* pp 44 n5, stresses that the reference is to prophetic activity during battle rather than the singing of a victory song.
- M. Weber considers that the particular function of early prophets was "the incitement to crusade, promise of victory, and ecstatic victory magic", *Ancient Judaism*, 1960 ed., p 97.
- (57) Cf von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, vol 2 pp 26f; M. Weber, *op.cit.* pp 96f; H. Knight, *The Hebrew Prophetic Consciousness*, 1947, pp 24-52.
- (58) Von Rad, *Der heilige Krieg*, p 54.
- H. Knight, *op.cit.* p 27, considers that "it is a mistake to seek the antecedents of Hebrew ecstatic prophesying in the earlier nomadic stage of their religion", and further, following Hölischer, agrees in the main that ecstatic prophecy was not native to Israelite religion but was an element of Canaanite culture, *ibid* p 25. Cf T.H. Robinson, *History of Israel*, 1948 vol 1 pp 179f.
- (59) Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, vol 2 p 52.
- H. Knight, *op.cit.* p 25, states: "They are the inheritors of the charismatic leadership of the Judges".
- (60) Well established groups of *נביאים* are already in evidence in connection with Samuel and Saul (eleventh century) (1 Sam 10.5,10-13; 19.20-24). They appear again in the ninth century in close association with Elijah and Elisha (2 K 2.3,5,7,15-18; 4.1,38; 5.22; 6.1-7; 9.1-10).
- While there may be no explicit indication of their involvement in war, their characteristic fanatical devotion to Yahweh would lead us to suppose that they were supporters and even spokesmen of the holy war tradition (note especially the episode with Ahab, 1 K 20.35,39-41).
- The anointing of Jehu indicates that they may have exercised cultic and prophetic functions of a more definite kind (2 K 9.1-10). Certainly, it would seem unlikely that such cultic devotees should stand outside the decisive Yahweh events of their time.
- (61) J.H. Hayes, *op.cit.* p 61.
- (62) J.H. Hayes, *op.cit.* p 54.
- (63) A.R. Johnson, *op.cit.* pp 4ff, 8f, 9 ff, 25.
- Cf T.J. Meek, *Hebrew Origins*, 1936 p 147.
- (64) G.H. Jones, *An Examination of some leading motifs in the prophetic oracles against foreign nations*, 1972, pp 57-136.

(65) G.H. Jones, op.cit. p 77 n89.

(66) G.H. Jones, op.cit. pp 62,63.

Von Rad suggests that the prophets had once functioned in war and had actually spoken when Yahweh went into action against the enemy; the war oracle therefore belongs to the earliest prophetic tradition, Old Testament Theology, vol 1 pp 199f.

Margulis maintains that the literary origins of the OAN tradition are distinct from those of holy war; in his opinion the OAN tradition goes back to a "secular" war tradition as evidenced by Song of the Bards (Nu 21.27-30), op.cit. pp 45,67. Margulis uses the term "secular" in a somewhat restricted sense, i.e. as opposed to, and therefore excluding, the miraculous and the supernatural; cf ibid p 88 where he describes the Song of the Bards as "secular and realistic".

P.C. Craigie, op.cit. p 8, insists that Israelite war-poetry has "a peculiarly dual (i.e. secular and religious) nature", and that it was not initially connected with the worship of Israel at a particular shrine. Whatever the origin of the war-oracle tradition, it is clear that it is taken up by the earliest Hebrews into the ritual usage of holy war, which Craigie himself describes as "a religious activity par excellence of a religious community". Craigie similarly distinguishes between "secular" and "religious" battle-cries, ibid pp 118f., again basing his assessment on literary content rather than on cultic usage.

J. Lindblom connects the oracles with ancient Israelite tribal poems, VT Suppl. 1 1953, pp 78ff.

(67) G.H. Jones, op.cit. pp 295f.

(68) Hayes mentions specifically, 1 Sam 15.2-3; 17.43; 1 K 20.26-30; 2 K 2.23ff., op.cit. pp 75-80,294.

Hayes suggests that Isaiah 7.4-9, containing a judgment-condemnation of Aram, was perhaps delivered during the preparation for war, ibid p 77.

P.C. Craigie, op.cit. p 181 n1, sees Is 7.4-9 as a transitional passage.

For the Balaam tradition, see Hayes, op.cit. pp 69-72.

(69) J.H. Hayes, op.cit. p 80.

Hayes also makes reference to similar war-speeches in the literature of several other Near Eastern cultures, ibid pp 82-90.

Note in general Hayes' article in JBL 87 1968, pp 81-92.

(70) B.B. Margulis, op.cit. pp 80-190

(71) G.von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 14.

G.H. Jones is of the opinion that holy war was not a cultic institution but that it had cultic preparations, Holy War or Yahweh War, VT 25 1975 p 651.

(72) G von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 29.

(73) Cf G von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 7.

(74) G von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 6.

(75) Cf T.H. Robinson, History of Israel, 1948, vol 1 p 181.

(76) G von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 6.

(77) For details of an oath-taking ceremony for Hittite warriors, see ANET ed. J.B. Pritchard, 3rd ed. & Suppl. 1969, pp 353-354.

- (78) According to Joshua 7, before making enquiry of Yahweh Joshua tears his clothes and he and the elders cast dust upon their heads (v 6); similarly, in preparation for the lot-casting ritual the Israelites have to be "sanctified" (v 13). For the tearing of clothes and putting on sack-cloth before seeking divine guidance, note: 2 K 19.1f = Is 37.1f. For fasting prior to seeking divine help, note: 2 Chr 20.3.
- In a more general context H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion*, ET 1969 p 154 n8, notes A. Haldar's interpretation of the verb שָׁאַל (Ps 27.4: "to enquire in His temple") as referring to the receiving of oracles; (A. Haldar, *Association of Cult Prophets among the ancient Semites*, 1945 p 102).
- Ringgren, *ibid* p 218, also draws attention to the existence of an altar used for enquiry, 2 K 16.15end, and suggests further that there may be a reference in Ps 5.4b (EVV 3b) to a זֶבֶחַ sacrifice, i.e., a sacrifice for obtaining oracles; (the accompanying verb, יָצַד , can mean "to prepare" a sacrifice).
- (79) H.W. Hertzberg is of the opinion that verses 7-11 should not be regarded as a preparation for battle, OT Library, Samuel 1964 115f.
- In the same passage there is a unique reference (v 6) to a libation of water accompanied by fasting and confession of sin; once again, pre-eminently an act of penitence is indicated.
- (80) W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, 1967 vol 1 pp 154-158.
- (81) It is noteworthy that a late passage, Ex 30.12 (P), dealing with a post-exilic poll-tax, preserves a primitive concept of census-taking, namely that conscription and enrolment for the ancient cultic levy were considered dangerous and likely to cause an outbreak of plague unless accompanied by ritual expiation. The census lists in the Book of Numbers show no trace of this זֶבֶחַ offering, but the plague which follows David's census (2 Sam 24) may reflect the primitive belief. The evidence of the Mari texts throws light on the subject (vide E.A. Speiser, *Census and Ritual Expiation in Mari and Israel*, BASOR 149 1958 pp 17-25; G.E. Mendenhall, *Census Lists of Numbers 1 & 26*, JBL 77 1958 pp 53-66).
- (82) R.H. Pfeiffer, *Religion in the Old Testament*, 1961 pp 36f.
- (83) Von Rad points to the literary elaboration of the ideology of holy war in the presentation of certain Old Testament war narratives. His list comprises the Battle of Jericho (Josh 6), Gideon's war against the Midianites (Ju 7), the crossing of the Sea (Ex 14), David's battle with Goliath (1 Sam 17), and Saul's wars with the Amalekites (1 Sam 15); *Der heilige Krieg*, pp 43-53. Characteristic of these narratives (which von Rad calls "spiritualised" war narratives) are several significant features: a strong theological reflection, an emphasis on miracle, the exclusion of human participation, and a taking up of the ideology of holy war into the content of speeches.
- (84) The suggestion of G.H. Davies (*The Ark in the Psalms, in Promise and Fulfilment*, ed. F.F. Bruce, 1963 pp 51-61) that we must assume a reference to the Ark in the term אֲרוֹן in several Psalms may be questioned. Moreover, the explicit reference to the Ark in Ps 132.8 = 2 Chr 6.41a (a conflation of the two sayings in Nu 10.35f) still does not clarify the function of the Ark in the earliest period; the Psalm is a royal Psalm for processional use, commemorating David's bringing of the Ark to Jerusalem.
- (85) According to Ju 1.1-3 enquiry is made of Yahweh to determine which tribe will make the first attack on the Canaanites. Although the term לֹט is not apparent in verse 1, verse 3 indicates that the lot falls to Judah. For the tribal war against Benjamin mobilisation

is organised "by lot" (Ju 20.9f); the use of the lot to determine the order of attack may be implied in verse 18; further, prior to the second and third actions of the same campaign enquiry is again made (vv 23,27f).

Saul enquires of Yahweh: 1 Sam 14.18 (by ephod LXX, cf v 3; by Ark MT), vv 41f (by lot), v 37 (unspecified). Note the possible methods listed in 1 Sam 28.6 : "....dreams....urim....prophets".

The priest of Nob makes enquiry on behalf of David. According to 1 Sam 22.10,13,15 the method is unspecified, but note the reference to ephod in the narrative of the visit, 1 Sam 21.9. The method of David's enquiry is again unspecified in 1 Sam 23.2,4; 2 Sam 5.19,23. David makes enquiry by ephod in 1 Sam 23.9-12; 30.7f.

- (86) One would accept as a definitive view the reasoned arguments of W. McKane, *The Earlier History of the Ark* (Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society, XXI 1965-6). The following salient points of his discussion may usefully be noted.

The ancient sayings in Nu 10.35-36 present the earliest reliable information about the Ark and establish a connection between the Ark and war (pp 68f). Specifically Prof. McKane asserts that "the first sanctuary of the ark in Canaan was the camp and that it was located with the armies of Israel during the period of the conquest" (p 70). The presence of the Ark on the battle-field is indicated in 1 Sam 4.1f; 2 Sam 11.11; particularly significant is its association with the battle-shout, 1 Sam 4.1f (pp 70f). Von Rad's view of the Ark as a Canaanite cult-object belonging to a temple is rightly rejected (p 71). The significance of the passage 2 Sam 7.1-7 is that the Ark belongs in a tent not a temple (pp 75f). The imagery of the cherubim throne is of Canaanite origin and its association with the Ark derives from the Shiloh temple (p 74). Prof. McKane carefully distinguishes between the dwelling concept of deity associated with a temple and the presence of Yahweh indwelling the Ark (p 76).

Several writers suppose that the Ark was the divine "palladium" in war; thus:

W. Eichrodt, *op.cit* vol 1 pp 192,273; cf *ibid* p 459, vol 2 pp 193,270; P.D. Miller, Jr., *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel*, Harvard Semitic Monographs 5, 1973, pp 145,152,158; R. de Vaux, *op.cit.* p 259; Th.C. Vriezen, *Religion of Ancient Israel*, 1967, p 151; R. Smend, *op.cit.* p 88; F. Stolz, *op.cit.* p 44; cf J.W. Flight, *The Nomadic Idea and Ideal in the Old Testament*, JBL 42 1932 pp 199,201f.

- (87) E.W. Nicholson affirms that Dt 10.1-5; 31.24ff., are later insertions by the Deuteronomistic historian, and considers significant the fact that the original Book of Deuteronomy nowhere mentions the Ark (Deuteronomy and Tradition, 1967 pp 71f,104,112). Stolz even considers the Song of the Ark to be Deuteronomistic, *op.cit.* p 37, cf *ibid* p 72; cf Fohrer, *op.cit.* p 109.
- (88) Cf von Rad, *OT Library Deuteronomy* 1966 p 79; Problem of the Hexateuch, ET 1966, pp 119f; Vriezen, *op.cit.* p 146.
- (89) Cf J.W. Flight, *op.cit.* p 202 n274; Fohrer, *op.cit.* p 110.

In his comparative study J. Morgenstern compares the Ark with the ancient Arab *kubbe*, a small sacred tent of red leather which contained two sacred stones (betyls) or images, and which was carried into major battles. The *kubbe* was also used for oracular revelation. (Ark, Ephod, and Tent of Meeting, HUCA 17 1942-3 pp 207-210). Morgenstern suggests (against Biblical evidence) that the Ark was not box-like but tent-like, *ibid* p 349.

- (90) Although there is no clear evidence for the Ark in the desert period, its close association with the war camp at the time of the Conquest may reflect an earlier and original association. The association of the Ark with a tent rather than with a temple (cf W. McKane, op.cit. pp 75f) might seem to indicate a desert and nomadic origin.

W. McKane sees the Ark's connections with Gilgal and Jericho (Josh 3-6) as a further indication of the primitive association between the Ark and the wars of the Conquest (op.cit. p 72).

That the leading of the people might be linked with oracular enquiry is suggested by a statement in Nu 27.21 according to which the going and coming of the people are to be decided by the priest enquiring of Yahweh by means of urim.

Furthermore, it is noteworthy that Zadok, the priest in charge of the Ark in David's time, is referred to as a "seer", 2 Sam 15.27. It may also be significant that the inner sanctuary of the Temple where the Ark was eventually installed is described as the place of the oracle (7'27), 1 K 8.6. The concept of the Temple as a place of prayer and supplication also points to the possibility of some kind of oracular function, 1 K 8.28-39, 44-52.

M. Weinfeld draws attention to Dt 1.33 where, in contrast to Nu 10.33, it is Yahweh who leads the people and finds stopping-places (Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School, 1972 pp 208f); this concept would seem to correspond to the war-tradition motif of Yahweh "going before" (for textual references, see note (103)).

- (91) One would agree, however, with the pertinent observation of W. McKane: "The location of the ark at several central sanctuaries in the pre-monarchic period is to be regarded as a subsequent stage of its history" (op.cit. p 72).

F. Stolz, op.cit. pp 59f., maintains that the centre of the story in 1 Sam 1-3 is not the Ark but the Ark priesthood; no longer Eli and his house but Samuel is to be the mediator of divine revelation. On the other hand, R. Smend, op.cit. pp 86foot-87, rightly notes that the priestly line of Eli retains its role in war, especially in support of David.

- (92) The episode of Elisha's arrows (as presented in 2 K 13.14-19) does not seem to be connected with divination (cf supra p 72 and P.C. Craigie, op.cit. p 95).

Micah's household gods include ephod and teraphim (Ju 17.5). According to Ju 18.5f., Micah's priest enquires of Yahweh on behalf of Danites on military reconnaissance.

Hosea warns that for a time the people will be without teraphim and other means of oracular guidance (Hos 3.4). Zech 10.2 indicates that divination by teraphim is currently practised.

Pre-battle examination of animal entrails was carried out by the ancient Assyrians and Babylonians; Weippert, ZAW 84 pp 470f; J.H. Hayes, op.cit. p 87; P.C. Craigie, op.cit. pp 62, 76. Craigie (ibid p 81) also mentions divination by arrows among the Arabs.

- (93) **כֹּהֵן אֵלֹהִים** : Is 10.24 et al; Jer 2.2 et al; Ezk 2.4 et al; Am 1.3, 6, 9, 11, 13 et al; Obad 1; Nah 1.12; Hag 1.2, 5, 7; 2.6, 11; Zech 1.3, 4, 14, 16, 17 et al; Mal 1.4.

יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ : Is 1.24 et al; Jer 1.8, 15, 19 et al; Ezk 13.6, 7, 8, 16 et al; Hos 2.13, 16, 21; 11.11; Joel 2.12; Am 2.11, 16 et al; Obad 4, 8; Mic 4.6; 5.10; Nah 2.13; Zeph 1.2, 3, 10; 2.9; 3.8; Hag 1.9, 13; 2.4 & passim; Zech 1.3, 4, 16 et al; Mal 1.4.

Cf H. Ringgren, op.cit. p 252.

- (94) H. Ringgren, op.cit. p 218.
F. Stolz, op.cit. p 180, refers to a practice among the Rwala Arabs whereby two or three men were sent out at night not only to reconnoitre but to look for "signs" which were regarded as essential omens for battle.
- (95) Nu 21.34; Josh 6.2; 8.1,18; 10.8; 11.6; Ju 7.7,9;
cf Ex 23.27-31; Ju 4.7.
For the divine word in answer to enquiry, note: Ju 1.2b; 20.28; 1 Sam 23.4; 2 Sam 5.19,23f; 1 K 22.6,12,15 = 2 Chr 18.5,11,14; cf 2 K 3.18b.
- (96) Ex 14.13f; Josh 6.16; 8.7b; 10.19b,25; Ju 3.28a; 4.14; 7.15b;
cf also: 1 K 20.13,28; 2 Chr 20.15ff; 32.7f.
- (97) Dt 1.29f; 3.2,22; 7.16-26; 9.1-6; 31.3-8.
Von Rad refers to these addresses as "war sermons", OT Library Deuteronomy, 1966 pp 24,68f,73f,188f.
- (98) S. Mowinckel takes the episode as evidence that "prophetically inspired men belonged to the organised temple personnel"; this is further supported by the Chronicler's use of the term "prophecy" (נִבִּי, Niph.) to describe the activity of the levitical guilds (1 Chr 25.1ff), and by a possible reference to a "Master of the Oracles" in the (obscure) text of 1 Chr 15.22,27. (Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship, ET 1962, vol 2 pp 54,56,82,92.
- (99) Spoken by Yahweh: Nu 21.34; Dt 3.2; Josh 8.1; 10.8; 11.6;
cf: Is 7.4; 41.10; Jer 46.27,28; Zech 8.13b.
Spoken by leader: Ex 14.13; Dt 1.29; 3.22; 7.18,21; 20.1,3;
31.6,8; Josh 10.25; 2 Chr 20.15,17b.
- (100) Dt 31.6,7,23; Josh 1.6,7,9,18; 10.25; 2 Chr 32.7.
For "be courageous", cf 2 Sam 10.12 = 1 Chr 19.13; Josh 23.6.
For "be strong", cf 2 Chr 15.7; Is 35.4; Hag 2.4; Zech 8.9a,13b.
- (101) Dt 2.24; Josh 1.2; 8.1b; Ju 4.14; 5.12; 7.9,15; 18.9; 1 Sam 23.4; Is 21.5b; Jer 6.4,5; 49.28,31; Dan 7.5; Obad 1; Mic 4.13.
Cf "awake": Ju 5.12; Is 52.1.
- (102) "I have delivered (OR, will deliver)":
Ex 23.31b; Nu 21.34*; Dt 3.2a*; Josh 6.2*; 8.1*,18; 10.8*; 11.6; Ju 1.2*; 4.7*; 7.7*,9*; 20.28; 1 Sam 23.4 (cf 24.4); 2 Sam 5.19; 1 K 20.13,28.
"Yahweh has delivered.....(OR, will deliver)":
Dt 7.2,16a,23,24; (cf 23.14a); 31.5; Josh 2.24*; 6.16*; 8.7*; 10.19*; Ju 3.28*; 4.14*; 7.15b* (cf v 14*); (cf 18.10*); 1 Sam 14.10*,12*; 17.46a,47b*; 1 K 22.6,12*,15* = 2 Chr 18.5,11*,14; 2 K 3.18*.

It is most significant that the promise of victory is presented in the perfect tense in most instances (indicated here by asterisk); cf von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 7. Von Rad considers the direct speech by Yahweh to be the primary form (ibid p 9) and suggests that the promise of victory may have formed the original battle-summons delivered by messengers (ibid p 7).

- (103) "Yahweh will be with you": Dt 7.21; 20.1,4; 31.6,8; Josh 1.5,9; Ju 6.12,16; 2 Chr 20.17b; 32.8; Jer 46.28; Zech 10.5b; cf Zeph 3.17.
- "Yahweh goes before...": Dt 1.30; 9.3; 31.3,8; Ju 4.14; 2 Sam 5.24b = 1 Chr 14.15b; Is 52.12; (cf Ex 13.21; 15.13; Nu 14.14).
- "Yahweh will fight for you" : Ex 14.14 (cf v 25); Dt 1.30; 3.22; 20.4; Josh 23.10; 2 Chr 32.8; cf Is 31.4b; cf Zech 14.3.
- "Yahweh will destroy" : Dt 7.10,23; 9.3; 31.3,4; (cf 2 Sam 5.24b = 1 Chr 14.15b; Ps 110.5,6b; Is 11.15a; 19.22).
- (104) Cf Is 7.4a,9b; 30.7,15. For the importance of the concept and especially the link with Isaiah see von Rad, *Der heilige Krieg* pp 46, 56-58.
- (105) Von Rad speaks of the shift of the whole event into the spiritual sphere of the speeches, *Der heilige Krieg* p 47. Von Rad applies the phrase "spiritualised war narratives" to the following: the conquest of Jericho (Josh 6), Gideon's war against the Midianites (Ju 7), the crossing of the Sea (Ex 14), David's battle with Goliath (1 Sam 17), and Saul's war against the Amalekites (1 Sam 15); for von Rad's analysis of these passages, see *Der heilige Krieg* pp 43-53.
- (106) Von Rad, *Der heilige Krieg*, pp 58(foot)-60. In the relevant passages, Is 22.8b,11; 31.1b; (cf 5.12b), Judah is rebuked for not looking to Yahweh; a positive statement reflecting the same concept appears in 2 Chr 20.12b ("...our eyes are upon Thee."); cf also Zech 12.10a.
- (107) Cf von Rad, *Der heilige Krieg*, pp 59 n99, 81.
- (108) Dt 7.7,17; 20.1; Josh 23.10; Ju 7.2,7; 1 Sam 14.6b; 1 K 20.13,28; 2 Chr 14.11; 16.8; 20.12,15; 24.24; 32.7; Ps 3.6; 33.16; 105.12; cf Is 29.7-8; 31.1; Hos 10.13b.
- The concern for numbers and weaponry may well reflect the battle-situation in the period from the first Hebrew wars to the early monarchy when the Hebrews with few resources faced numerically superior and better equipped armies (cf supra p 7).
- (109) Dt 20.1; Josh 24.12b; Ju 5.8b; 7.2b; 1 Sam 2.9b; 17.38f,45,47,50; 2 K 6.14-17; 19.23 = Is 37.24; 2 Chr 16.7-8; Ps 20.7; 33.16f; 44.3; cf 147.10; Is 31.1,8; Hos 1.7; 10.13b; Am 2.14ff.
- The epithet applied to Elijah and Elisha, "My father, my father, the chariotry and horsemen of Israel" (2 K 2.12; 13.14), is doubtless an authentic appraisal of the prophet as Israel's true defence (cf von Rad, *Der heilige Krieg*, pp 55f). Von Rad rightly sees Isaiah as standing in the same tradition as the foremost supporter and spokesman of ancient holy war concepts (ibid pp 61, 57foot). Note Isaiah's condemnation of trust in fortifications and siege preparation (Is 22.8b-11), horses and chariots (Is 30.16; 31.1; 36.9b), reliance upon and alliance with Egypt (Is 30.2-3,7a; 31.1; 36.6,9b = 2 K 18.21,24b). Similarly Asa's strength and downfall are summarised in 2 Chr 16.7-8: when Asa relied on Yahweh a large host was delivered into his hand (v8) Asa's folly was to place his trust in the King of Syria (v7).
- (110) Is 31.3a. Note the relevant epitomising statement in Zech 4.6: "Not by might nor by power, but by my spirit saith Yahweh of hosts". For von Rad's evaluation of the concept vide *Der heilige Krieg* pp 60-61, 66-67.
- Note also the contrast between the arm of flesh and the power of God: 2 Chr 32.8a; Jer 17.5; cf Ps 56.4.

- (111) P.C. Craigie draws attention to the Akkadian practice of pronouncing curses and doom-oracles before battle (op.cit. p 77), and to the war-function of Assyrian and Babylonian "baru" priests (ibid pp 78f, & Hayes, Oracles against the Nations, p 88). The pre-Islamic Arabian "kahin" was consulted before battle and pronounced oracle and curse; a function of the "sha'ir" poet was also to curse the enemy (Craigie, ibid pp 80f; Hayes, ibid 89-90). Hayes notes the ancient Sumerian Curse of Agadi, Egyptian execration texts, and evidence for pre-battle cursing among the Hittites, Assyrians and Babylonians (ibid pp 82-90).
- (112) H.G. May considers this curse to be a post eventum prophecy of 9th Century origin, Peake Commentary on the Bible, 1962, 253o.
- (113) P.C. Craigie, op.cit. p 112. Craigie quotes an outstanding example of taunt in the 13th Century Assyrian Tukulti-Ninurta Epic (ibid p 62), and notes that the Arabian "sha'ir" also employed taunt and satire (ibid pp 81,82,110).
- (114) S. Mowinckel, op.cit. vol 1 pp 202,236f.
Note for example: Ps 7.9a; 31.17b-18a; 35.4-6,8,26; 40.14f; 55.15; 69.22,23,25,28; 71.13; 104.35a; 109.8-15,17-20,29; 137.8f; 140.9-10; cf also Jer 17.18.
- (115) S. Mowinckel, op.cit. vol 1 pp 202ff, vol 2 pp 51-52.
Note for example: Ps 28.4; 35.1-3; 55.23; 56.7; 59.5,10b-13a; 69.24,27; 79.6; 83.9-17; 139.19a; 143.12.
- (116) As noted above (p 13) Margulis sees the oracles against the nations as the literary successor to Israel's ancient war-literature and especially the $\text{D}^{\text{S}}\text{V}\lambda$ tradition (op.cit. p 190, cf ibid pp 18f, 45,67, 368).
Craigie also considers that the oracles against the nations originated in oracles pronounced before battle in ancient Israel, op.cit. pp 180f; similarly, Hayes, Oracles against the Nations, pp 232,296f, cf ibid pp 79-80; cf also M. Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School, ET 1972 p 137, and von Rad, OT Theology vol 1 pp 199-200.
G.H. Jones deals extensively with the ancient war motifs in the oracles against the nations (op.cit. pp 57-136), and notes pertinently that "the ancient war motifs occur over the whole span of the period covered by the foreign oracles, beginning with Amos in the 8th Century BC and closing with Ezekiel and his disciples in the Exile" (ibid pp 294foot-295). Moreover, Jones considers that the curse-tradition is not necessarily connected with ancient treaty curses, ibid pp 20-24 (against D.R. Hillers, Treaty Curses and OT Prophets, 1964).
- (117) Is 13.9,20ff; 14.21-23; 17.1-2,9; 18.5,18; 23.1; 34.10-15; Jer 46.19; 48.9,42; 49.2,13,17f,20,25ff,33,36; 50.3,12f,15,21ff,39-40,45b; 51.25f,29,37,43,54ff,58,62; Ezk 25.5,7,13,16; 26.4,17,19-21; 28.16-19; 29.8-12; 30.7,12,14; 32.11ff,15; Joel 4.8 (EJV 3.8); Am 1.5,8; Nah 2.10; 3.17f; Zeph 2.4-6,9,13ff; Zech 9.4-5; (cf Jones, op.cit. pp 119-133).
- (118) Note especially the motifs: "destruction without remnant", Jer 11.22f; 42.17; 44.13f; cf Ezr 9.14b; "no escape", Jer 42.17; 44.14; 46.5-6; cf Ezr 9.14b; "unsuccessful flight", Am 2.14ff; Is 13.14f; 22.1-3; 24.17f; Jer 42.16; 46.5-6; 48.43f,45f; 49.5,24a.
- (119) Jer 18.16; 19.3,8; 25.9,11; 44.22; 51.41b; Ezk 27.35f; 28.19; 32.10; cf 1 K 9.8 (cf 2 Chr 7.21); 2 K 21.12; 2 Chr 29.8.
- (120) Is 13.7-8a; 15.4; 17.13b; 19.1b,3,16f; 21.3-4; 29.5,7-8; 41.11-12; Jer 46.5; 48.39,43f; 49.5,23,24,29b,37a; 50.2,43; 51.32b; Ezk 26.15-18; 27.35; 28.19; 30.4,9,13b; 32.9-10; Hos 13.3; Obad 9; Zech 9.5; note also the taunt element in the mocking-song Is 14.4-21.

- (121) The cultic perambulation of Jericho may to some extent be an idealistic representation of the earliest encounters between ill-equipped tribal armies and fortified Canaanite cities. Clearly, the underlying concept is that ritual, correctly carried out, and indeed faith are more effective than siege-weapons.
- (122) 1 Sam 23.8; 2 Sam 5.7; 11.1; 1 K 15.27; 16.17; 2 K 6.24f; 16.5; 17.5; 18.9f,13; 24.10f; 25.2.
- (123) Raising earthworks (**שֶׁפַר סוֹלֶה**) : Ezk 4.2; 17.17; 21.27(EVV22); 26.8; also Jer 6.6; Dan 11.15.
- Building forts (**בִּצְרָה**) against walls: Ezk 4.2; 17.17; 21.27(EVV22); 26.8; cf Is 29.3b (**בִּצְרֵי-רָחֵל**).
- Battering-rams (**בָּר**) : Ezk 4.2; 21.27(EVV22); cf 26.9 (**בְּמִי קִבְּלָהּ**).
- Screen of shields (**צִנְה**) : Ezk 26.8; cf 4.3 "wall of iron".
- For general reference to siege in the Prophets, cf:
Is 1.8; 21.1; Jer 21.4,9; 32.2; 37.5; 39.1; 52.5; Ezk 4.7,8; 5.2; 6.12; Dan 1.1; Mic 5.1; Nah 3.14; Zech 12.2.
- (124) G. von Rad, OT Library Deuteronomy, 1966 p 133.
- (125) In the majority of cases **שֶׁפַר** is used, but note also: **קֶרֶן הַיּוֹגֵל** (Josh 6.5); **הַיֵּגֶל** (Ex 19.13); and **שֶׁפַר יוֹגֵל** (Josh 6.6,8,13).
- (126) Characteristically, in their idealistic presentation in Nu 10.1-10, the priestly writers assign the origin and use of the ceremonial trumpets to Moses and the desert camp. (For the desert period the earlier literary strata of the Pentateuch indicate the use of the horn - e.g. for summoning the people to the foot of Sinai, Ex 19.13b (J) (**יֹגֵל**); 19.16b,19a (E) and 20.18a (E) (**שֶׁפַר**). In a similar way the priestly writers envisage the origin and use in the Mosaic period of the more elaborate Tabernacle (a reflection of the Jerusalem Temple) in place of the ancient Tent of Meeting.
- S.B. Finesinger suggests that the legislation of Nu 10.1-10 may intend the **שֶׁפַר** to replace the **יֹגֵל** (HUCA 8-9 1931-2 p 208). The use of **שֶׁפַר** in 2 K 11.14 (cf 2 Chr 23.13) may be due to priestly influence; the public proclamation of regal accession in 1 K 1.34,39; 2 K 9.13 is heralded by horn. The horn is also used elsewhere in the context of religious ceremonies (Lev 25.9; Ps 81.3; 150.3; cf Ex 19.13b,16b,19a; 20.18a). Note also the use of horn in connection with bringing up the Ark, 2 Sam 6.15; the corresponding passage, 1 Chr 15.24,28, uses **שֶׁפַר** and adds considerably to the ritual and ceremonial description (for the latter point, compare 2 K 11.14 with 2 Chr 23.13).
- It should be noted that **שֶׁפַר** and **שֶׁפַר** appear together in four instances: 1 Chr 15.28; 2 Chr 15.14; Ps 98.6; Hos 5.8.
- (127) 1 Chr 13.8; 15.28; 16.6,42; 2 Chr 5.12,13; 23.13; 29.26,27; Ezr 3.10; Neh 12.35f; not similarly the use of horn in Ps 150.3-4.
- (128) C.F. Burney indicates that parallel (J) and (E) narratives have been combined in the Gideon story, and suggests that the horns belong to (E) and the jars and torches to (J); (The Book of Judges, 1930, ad loc.).
- (129) Cf G. von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 6.
In the ceremonial use of the horn the idea of summoning is also present; thus, Ex 19.13,16b,19; 20.18 (the assembling of the community at the foot of Sinai); Lev 25.9 (the proclamation of the jubilee year); cf Ps 81.3.

- (130) Jer 4.5,19,21; 6.1,17; 51.27; Ezk 33.3-6 (here coupled with the idea of warning of attack, cf similarly, Is 18.3; Hos 8.1; Am 3.6); Hos 5.8 (**שֹׁפָר** and **קֶרֶן** in parallelism). Note also the association of horn and war in Jer 42.14; cf Job 39.25.
- (131) The term **אֶלֶף** denotes the tribal quota mustered for military service; note especially Nu 31.4-6; cf M. Noth, History of Israel 1960 p 107. (Cf supra p 5).
The term is frequent in military references (vide supra note (24)).
With reference to the priestly writers, note the pertinent statement by Y. Kaufmann: ".... P's camp.... is an armed camp of the host of Israel; its purpose is the conquest of Canaan", Religion of Israel, 1961 p 185.
- (132) References in non-military contexts indicate the same close association of trumpet and shout:
2 Sam 6.15 — bringing up the Ark to Jerusalem (cf 1 Chr 15.28); significantly, when the Ark is brought to Aphek the Israelites raise the battle-shout but without mention of trumpet, 1 Sam 4.5f.
2 Chr 15.14 — a covenant renewal ceremony; cf Ezr 3.10f — the laying of the foundation of the second Temple.
- (133) In Joel 2.1, in the second half of the parallelism, AV and NEB translate the verb **רָאָה** as "sound the alarm"; we might equally well translate: "sound the battle-cry" or "raise the shout".
- (134) Cf 1 K 1.34,39; 2 K 9.13; — in the context of public proclamation of a king's accession.
- (135) Verses 5,6 supplement the trumpet instruction for breaking camp generally stated in verse 2.
The statement in vv 5a,6a **וְהָרָאָה אֶת הַקֶּרֶן** may be interpreted: "when you blow (sc. the trumpet as a signal for) battle-shout". Note also the clause in v 6b **וְהָרָאָה יְהוָה לְמַסְעֵיהֶם**, which NEB succinctly paraphrases: "a signal to shout is a signal to move off".
The interpretation is confirmed by the notice in v 9 **וְהָרָאָה בְּהִנְיָחָם** which may be taken to mean: "you will raise a shout when the trumpets sound", i.e., in response to the trumpets. Here it would seem to be incorrect (with AV) to interpret the verb **הָרָאָה** as referring to the blowing of the trumpets. A clear distinction is made at the end of v 7 between the verbs **רָאָה** and **נָפַח** (cf Josh 6.20a). For **נָפַח** meaning blowing trumpets, cf also vv 3a,4a,8a,10a.
Similarly, in 2 Chr 13.12: **וְהָרָאָה הַקֶּרֶן עֲלֵיכֶם** one might suggest that the verb **רָאָה** properly refers to the shouting of the battle-cry rather than to the sounding of the trumpets, thus, literally, "trumpets for (signalling) the battle-cry (to be) raised against you".
- (136) C.F. Burney considers that "sword" (AV verse 18) is added to harmonise with verse 20; The Book of Judges, 1930 ad loc.
- (137) P.C. Craigie, op.cit. pp 117-120.
With reference to Ex 17.16 Craigie (ibid p 120) suggests that the content of the oath may have been an incantation repeated by Moses during battle; Craigie quotes the Swedish Authorised Version:
"Surely with (my) hand (raised) to the throne of Yahweh (I swear); War has Yahweh against Amalek from generation to generation".
Cf M. Noth, OT Library Exodus, 1962 pp 143f.

- (138) Peter von der Osten-Sacken maintains that the theory of holy war received this liturgical emphasis for the first time in 2 Chr 20, Gott und Belial, Studien zur Umwelt des NT, Band 6, 1969 p 66. The importance of the liturgical emphasis in the Chronicler is noted by von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, pp 80f .
- (139) For the Chronicler's liturgical emphasis in non-military contexts the following passages may be noted.
- In connection with David's bringing up the Ark to Jerusalem, the Chronicler adds to the simple trumpet and shout of 2 Sam 6.15 "lifting up the voice", and includes various musical instruments (1 Chr 15.16,28; note also *ibid* 13.18; 16.4-6,42).
- In a similar way Solomon's installation of the Ark in the Temple is celebrated, 2 Chr 5.12f ; notable in this passage is the detail that trumpets and singers make one sound. The refrain (frequent in the Psalms, *vide infra* note (142)), "...for His mercy is forever", might well echo a battle-hymn in the style of the Chronicler (thus 2 Chr 20.21; cf also 1 Chr 16.34).
- The description of the purification of the Temple again includes trumpets, musical instruments, and singing praise, 2 Chr 29.25-28 .
- Another liturgical amplification may be noted. To the description of the proclamation of the coronation of Joash in 2 K 11.14, the Chronicler adds details of singers and musical instruments, 2 Chr 23.13.
- The celebrations accompanying the laying of the foundation of the second Temple (Ezr 3.10,11) and the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh 12.35-42) are similarly portrayed.
- Note also the combination of *tərū'āh*, sacrifice and praise in Ps 27.6 (cf *infra* p 37), and of trumpet, musical instruments and praise in Ps 150.3-5 .
- (140) 1 Chr 9.33; 15.16,19,27; 16.4; 2 Chr 5.12f ; 23.13; 35.15,25; cf also Ezr 2.41,65,70; 7.7; 10.24; Neh 7.1,44,67,73; 10.28,39; 11.22,23; 12.28 & *passim*; 13.5,10 .
- (141) The considerable role undertaken by Jehoiada the priest and the Levites at the coronation of the boy-king Joash, 2 Chr 23, is also noteworthy. Jehoiada is in charge of the military coup which deposes (and assassinates) Queen Athaliah and establishes Joash on the throne; note especially vv 1,7-11,14f ,20. Comparison with the version in 2 K 11 shows that the Chronicler introduces the Levites into the narrative (2 Chr 23.2,4-8).
- (142) For similar expressions of praise in the Psalms note: Ps 106.1; 107.1-118.1-4,29; 136.1-3 & *passim*.
Cf also 1 Chr 16.34,41; 2 Chr 5.13; 7.3,6; Ezr 3.11; Jer 33.11 .
- (143) At one point in the pre-battle narrative we might have expected the sounding of the battle-trumpet, namely, at the conclusion of the Levite's war-speech. Instead, at this juncture, the levitical singers "praise Yahweh with a loud voice" (2 Chr 20.19).
- (144) Nu 21.2,3; Dt 7.2; 13.16f (EVV15f); 20.16b-17a; Josh 6.21a; 10.28,35,37,39,40; 11.11,12,20,21; 1 Sam 15.3,8b,9b; in these instances the Hiph'il of the verb *נָּחַם* is used. Note the use of the substantive *נָּחַם*, Josh 6.17a; 1 K 20.42b .
- (145) The possibility that the Achan story is aetiological (cf H.G. May, in Peake 254c) does not detract from the authenticity of the cultic ideas and practice indicated in the narrative.

- (146) Jer 25.9b (oracle against Judah); 50.21 (Babylon); Is 11.15a (Egypt): 34.2 (the nations; cf with reference to the Conquest, Josh 11.20a). According to Is 43.28 Yahweh has given Israel over to the ban (בְּיָדֵי הַבַּן). Yahweh's insistence on the carrying out of herem is expressed in a unique phrase in 1 K 20.42b, $\text{אִישׁ אֶחָד מִבְּנֵי הַבַּן}$, literally, "the man of my ban".
- (147) Thus it becomes apparent to what a remarkable extent a pronounced military theology (embracing elements and aspects of the ancient holy war tradition) is taken up by the Deuteronomists into the ideological struggle against pagan religion; cf von Rad, OT Theology, vol 1 pp 73f. Von Rad draws attention to the codification in Exodus 22.19(EVV20) of this attitude towards alien cults (OT Library, Deuteronomy, p 98); significantly, according to the present form of this verse, herem is the stated punishment for anyone sacrificing to pagan gods. Note also the telling remark of G.H. Davies: "Deuteronomy is supremely the book of the diagnosis and evaluation of idolatry" (in Peake, 231g; cf ibid 235a-b).
- (148) Cf von Rad, OT Library Deuteronomy, pp 97f.
- (149) It is presumably because of their theological standpoint that the writers of Deuteronomy exhibit a much more radical attitude to herem than Israel conceived at an earlier period; cf von Rad, OT Library, Deuteronomy, p 67; for the treatment of besieged cities, note von Rad, ibid p 133, and, Der heilige Krieg, p 70.
- (150) Ex 23.24,32; 34.12-3,15-6 (*); Dt 7.2-5,25f; 13.13f,16-17a; 20.18; cf also Josh 23.7,12; Ju 2.2.
(*) M. Noth points to Deuteronomistic influence in the language and style of Ex 23.20-33 and Ex 34.11b-13,14b-16; OT Library, Exodus, pp 192, 262.
- (151) Ex 23.33; 34.12; Dt 7.16,25f; 12.30; Josh 23.13; Ju 2.3; Ps 106.25f.
- (152) That is, by herem destruction: Dt 13.16; Josh 6.21b; 1 Sam 15.3b. According to Josh 6.19,24 silver, gold and vessels of copper and iron are to be deposited in Yahweh's treasury; cf 1 Sam 31.9-10a, Saul's armour is placed in a Philistine temple. Dt 7.26 warns against the appropriation of pagan cult objects, on penalty of death (by herem; note the same penalty in Ex 22.19(EVV20), vide supra note (147)); cf also Josh 7.1,21 (the sin of Achan).
- (153) Elsewhere, animals and objects devoted to Yahweh as offerings are described in terms of herem, i.e., they are irredeemably vowed to the deity, cf Lev 27.28f; Nu 18.14.
- (154) Nu 31.9b,11f,26-47,48-54; Dt 2.35; 3.7; 20.14; Josh 8.2,27; 11.14a; 1 Sam 15.9,15,19,21 (to the extent that the action is here condemned, the episode could be taken as supporting total herem as commanded in v 3); 30.22-31; 2 Sam 23.10b; 2 Chr 14.13end; 20.25; cf Is 10.6; cf Ezk 38.12-3.
- (155) The passage in Nu 31 indicates that part of the booty is consecrated to Yahweh; N.H. Snaith notes (in Peake 229b) that according to Muslim custom (Quran 8.42) one fifth of the booty was taken, and this fifth belonged to God, to the prophet, to widows and orphans, and to the poor generally.
- (156) Cf Craigie, op.cit. p 129; O Eissfeldt, OT Introduction, ET 1965 p 68.

- (157) P.C. Craigie, op.cit. p 170; Craigie also notes evidence of victory songs in Akkadian texts and in early Arabic war poetry, *ibid* pp 121-126.
- (158) Note especially: Ps 7.17; 27.6; 33; 66.1-3,6; 68.25; 98; 108; 118.14-16; 132.8-9; 149; 150; cf also Is 12; 25; 26.
- (159) It must be acknowledged that the translation of the first two words in Ju 5.2 is by no means certain.

C. Rabin (Judges V.2 and the 'ideology' of Deborah's war, JJS 6 1955, pp 125-134) rejects the familiar interpretations ("when hair was worn long in Israel", "when leaders led in Israel") partly because these do not provide a parallel with the second half of the verse.

Rabin construes **אִי־לְעַלְלָהֶם** as an impersonal infinitive with a cognate object, and his interpretation achieves the following parallelism:

When duty was done in Israel
When the God-blessed people answered the call.

P.C. Craigie (A Note on Judges V.2, VT 18 1968, pp 397-399) affirms that even if **אִי־לְעַלְלָהֶם** were understood as referring to hair, a better translation for **אִי־לְעַלְלָהֶם** would be "gathering up". In this connection mention is made of a reference in the Tukulti Ninurta Epic to warriors "gathering up their hair".

Craigie takes **אִי־לְעַלְלָהֶם** as an intensive plural emphasising the element of exclusive dedication, and translates:

When men wholly dedicated themselves in Israel;
again a parallel is provided with the remainder of the verse.

A similar interpretation is proposed by R.G. Boling:

When they cast off restraint in Israel
(Anchor Bible, Judges 1975 p 100; *ibid* p 102, note on v 2).

Although J. Gray (Joshua Judges and Ruth, 1967 p 274) quotes RSV (after LXXA):

That the leaders took the lead in Israel,
he asserts in the textual footnote (*ibid* p 276) that the natural meaning of the phrase is "when the flowing hair was let loose". Gray further suggests that "the long hair might symbolise a reversion to desert conditions".

Several writers argue in favour of a rendering in the sense of "letting the hair hang loose", and see in the phrase a significant link with the vow of the ancient nazirite warrior. Thus:

C.F. Burney, The Book of Judges, 1918 pp 107f; M. Weber, op.cit. pp 94f; Oesterley & Robinson, Hebrew Religion, 1952 p 210; R de Vaux, op.cit. p 467; J. Pedersen, op.cit. vol 1 pp 36f (cf *ibid* p 265 n2); J. Blenkinsopp, JBL 82 1963 pp 63-66; P.D. Miller, op.cit. pp 87ff.

P.D. Miller quotes pertinently from Blenkinsopp's article:

".... It might be worthwhile reopening the debate on the semantic interpretation of *pr* as 'lock of hair' in the title to the tribal poem of Deborah (Judg. 5:2) in the light of the nazir vow."

(Miller, op.cit. p 222 n67).

- (160) P.D. Miller, *op.cit.* p 87.
- (161) Two additional references support this use of the verb. The Chronicler records that Amasiah ben Zichri, in Jehoshaphat's reign, "willingly offered himself to Yahweh with two hundred thousand mighty warriors", 2 Chr 17.16. Note also the first phrase in Ps 110.3 :
 "Thy people offered themselves willingly in the day of Thy might".
 C. Rabin interprets the verb specifically as "to go to war in answer to a call" (JJS 6 1955 p 130).
 It is important to distinguish this original sense and context from the later application of the term to "free-will offerings" and voluntary service in general (e.g. 1 Chr 29.5,6,9,14,17; Ezr 1.6; 2.68; 3.5; cf Neh 11.2). The original usage clearly indicates that the warrior was a volunteer for battle, a devotee of Yahweh, in a definite cultic sense.
 In this connection the appearance of Nadab as a personal name may be noted: the elder son of Aaron (Ex 6.23; 24.1,9; 28.1; Lev 10.1; Nu 3.2,4; 26.60,61; 1 Chr 6.3; 24.1,2); a son of Jeroboam I of Israel (1 K 14.20; 15.25,27,31); a great-grandson of Jerahmeel (1 Chr 2.28,30); and a kinsman of Saul (1 Chr 8.30; 9.36).
 For "nadab" as a component in personal names, note :
 Jonadab ben Rechab (2 K 10.15,23; Jer 35.6 & passim); Jonadab ben Shimeah (2 Sam 13.3,5,32,35); and Abinadab, a name frequently found, e.g. the man in whose house the Ark was placed after its return by the Philistines (1 Sam 7.1; 2 Sam 6.3f; 1 Chr 13.7), the second son of Jesse (1 Sam 16.8; 17.13; 1 Chr 2.13), a son of Saul (1 Sam 31.2; 1 Chr 8.33; 9.39; 10.2), and the father of one of Saul's officers (1 K 4.11).
- (162) In the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic (Col. V) the warriors of Asshur are described as "gathering up their flowing hair" (quoted by Craigie, *thesis cit.*, p 66; cf *supra* note (159)).
- (163) M. Weber, *op.cit.* pp 94f; P.D. Miller, *op.cit.* pp 87f.
- (164) See especially R. Smend, *op.cit.* pp 99,104,106; cf G. von Rad, *OT Library Deuteronomy*, p 207.
- (165) Cf M. Noth, *History of Israel ET* 1960, p 107; W. Eichrodt, *op.cit.* vol 1 pp 303f.
 Th.C. Vriezen, *op.cit.* p 178, sees the original significance of the Nazirites as a "charismatic order of warriors", and compares them with the Levites who supported Moses at Sinai (Ex 32.26-29). Vriezen further suggests that the name Levite derives from "one covenanted or devoted to God", *ibid* p 162; cf *ibid* p 301 n21, and G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, vol 1 p 250.
- (166) Ben Sira calls him ἡγαπημένος ὑπὸ κυρίου αὐτοῦ (Ecclus. 46.13), which J.A. Montgomery interprets: "the nazirite of the Lord", JBL 51 1935, p 203. The Septuagint version of 1 Sam 1.11 adds "and he shall drink no wine or strong drink"; this is confirmed by 4 Q Sam^a (F.M. Cross, BASOR 132 1953 pp 15-26).
- (167) J. Pedersen notes the close relation between the terms נָזִיר and נָזִירָה, *op.cit.* vol 2 p 328. R. de Vaux regards the terms as synonymous, *op.cit.* p 465; cf W.R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites* 1907 p 482foot.
- (168) In the first instance Samuel is dedicated to the service of the shrine at Shiloh (1 Sam 1.28; 2.18; 3.1,4-10). Even here there is a hint of his function as prophet (1 Sam 3.20f; 4.1a). In the prophetic /tradition

tradition, Samuel is seen as somewhat antagonistic to the principle of monarchy (1 Sam 8.6-22; 10.17ff; 12.12-19). A lasting memory remains of Samuel as a judge in Israel (1 Sam 7.15ff).

69)

J.A. Montgomery, JBL 51 1935 p 201 n.40 (cf ICC Kings 1951 p 250), discusses the phrase and prefers the interpretation: "one with a hairy garment". The term קַשְׁשׁוּׁם , however, applies in the main to the hair of the head, thus: Lev 14.8,9; Nu 6.5,18; Ju 16.22; 2 Sam 14.26; Ezr 9.3; Ps 68.22(EVV 21); Song 4.1; 6.5; Ezk 16.7; Dan 3.27; 4.30(EVV 33); 7.9.

70)

J. Bright, History of Israel, OT Library, 1960 p 227.

71)

Von Rad pertinently remarks: "....this description of the prophet as Israel's true defence is a very forthright slogan, almost in fact a religious programme, whose influence far transcended the hour in which it was born. It preserves a memory of the days of the holy wars when Israel was confronted with the chariots of the Canaanites, and, herself not possessing these, was thrown back upon Yahweh alone....Then in an age which had long forgotten such holy wars, the emergence of men like Elisha put the stamp of truth on the experience of the past" (OT Theology, vol 2 p 29).

One might query von Rad's suggestion that the epithet applies in the first instance to Elisha (cf also Der heilige Krieg, pp 55f) — Elijah is by far the more historic figure and the greater prophet. Vide supra note (109).

72)

Phinehas (Nu 25.11,13), Elijah (1 K 19.10,14), and Jehu (2 K 10.16) are said to be "zealous for Yahweh". Saul's slaying of the Gibeonites is said to be due to his zeal for Israel and Judah (2 Sam 21.2b). For the prophetic portrayal of Yahweh's zeal in battle, cf Is 42.13a; 59.17b.

Zealous action is illustrated in several notable episodes.

In the Sinai tradition, the Levites consecrate themselves to Yahweh in the slaughtering of the offending Israelites (Ex 32.26-29); the phrase in verse 29, מִלֵּא הַיָּד , literally, "fill the hand", is a technical expression for priestly ordination, cf Ju 17.5,12; vide M. Noth, OT Library, Exodus, pp 250f, 230(foot)-231; J. Pedersen. op.cit. vol 2 p 278.

Phinehas similarly demonstrates his zeal in his spontaneous act (Nu 25.6-14). An informative discourse on the concept of zeal, and with special reference to Phinehas, is found in M. Hengel, Die Zeloten, 1961 pp 151-229.

In the charismatic-deliverer tradition, Ehud kills Eglon and blows the trumpet for the battle-levy (Ju 3.15-30). A brief notice depicts Shamgar slaughtering Philistines with an ox-goad (Ju 3.31). The decisive action of Jael the Kenite may also be cited (Ju 4.21).

Samson, despite the legendary tone of the narratives, is presented as acting with zeal against Yahweh's enemies (Ju 14.19; 15.4-5,8,15f), and is specifically designated as the first to deliver Israel from the Philistines (Ju 13.5b; cf 15.18a). Significantly, the Chronicler sees Phinehas as Yahweh's chosen deliverer (1 Chr 9.20).

Samuel, although not primarily a warrior, acts with characteristic zeal when he hews Agag in pieces "before Yahweh" (1 Sam 15.33). The prophet Elijah follows in this tradition with his slaughter of the prophets of Baal (1 K 18.40). Elijah's work is completed by King Jehu who, with the help of Jonadab ben Rechab, assassinates the remainder of Ahab's family, and slaughters the servants of Baal (2 K 10.15-28; cf v 11). Note also the purpose of the anointing of Hazael, Jehu and Elisha (1 K 19.17).

73)

Ps 68.18(EVV 17); Dt 33.2a; Ex 15.11a; — taking קָדְשׁ as a collective.

Dt 33.3a; Zech 14.5a; — קָדְשִׁים . Is 13.3 — בְּקָדְשֵׁים .

- (174) Cf N. Porteous, OT Library, Daniel 1965, pp 112,115f.
For **ד'ש7** applied to earthly "holy ones", note Ps 16.3; 34.10 (EVV9); cf the reference (singular) to Aaron, Ps 106.16.
- (175) For warrior tabu in primitive societies see especially J. Frazer, The Golden Bough, abridged ed., (reprinted) 1949, pp 210ff; Frazer notes that in certain S. African tribes the warrior tabu was extended to the people remaining at home; further, not only sexual intercourse, but all contact with women was forbidden when certain primitive tribes went to war. For tabu relating to returning warriors see Frazer, *ibid* pp 212-216; in the Old Testament surprisingly little reference is found to ritual for returning warriors, vide *infra* p 45.
- (176) The nearest approach to legalistic formulation might be the injunction in Ex 19.15 (J): ".... be ready by the third day; do not go near a woman".
- (177) J.A. Montgomery, JBL 51 1935, p 195.
- (178) W.R. Smith, *op.cit.* p 456, and J.A. Montgomery, JBL 51 1935, p 195, consider **טָבַח** to be a technical term meaning "tabu".
Note also the reference to Doeg as **הַכֹּהֵן הַיִּזְרְעֵלִי** (1 Sam 21.8 (EVV7)).
W.R. Smith (*ibid*) notes the phrase **טָבַח וְשָׁמֵן**, which indicates the two mutually exclusive categories "tabu" and "free" (cf 1 K 14.10; 21.21; 2 K 9.8; 14.26), and further considers that the use of the term **טָבַח** in Jer 36.5 denotes cultic restraint.
For the use of **שָׁמֵן** (1 Sam 21.5b, 6a (EVV 4b, 5a)) as a collective and as "nomina imitatis" see Gesenius/Kautzsch, Hebrew Grammar, 2nd Eng. ed (reprinted) 1952, 123b.
- (179) For the distinction between **טָבַח** and **טָבַח**, see N.H. Smaith, The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament, 1950 pp 34-36.
- (180) H.W. Hertzberg considers **גִּבּוֹרִים** a euphemism for the male organ, *op.cit.* p 177; cf Is 66.20b, and note also the use of **σκευος** in 1 Thess 4.4. M. Weippert interprets the term as "bodies", *op.cit.* p 485 n.119; W.R. Smith construes "gear", *op.cit.* p 456. G. von Rad, although acknowledging that 1 Sam 21.6 (EVV) indicates sexual asceticism, interprets **גִּבּוֹרִים** as "weapons", *Der heilige Krieg*, p 7.
The verse may be understood thus:
".... certainly women have been tabu to us for the past three days (literally, yesterday and the day before) since I came forth, and the 'bodies' of the young men are holy; they are the same (even) on a common campaign -- and indeed to-day they are sexually pure".
David's last, and somewhat enigmatic remark may indicate that the purpose of his journey to Nob was not simply to seek food, cf H.W. Hertzberg, *op.cit.* pp 179-181.
- (181) For the possible euphemistic use of the word **רַגְלֶיךָ** (2 Sam 11.8a: "wash your feet"), note the various expressions in the following: Ex 4.25; Ju 3.24; 1 S 24.3; Ruth 3.4,7; Is 7.20; Ezk 16.25. Cf also "water of the feet", i.e. urine, 2 K 18.27b = Is 36.12b (qere **מֵי רַגְלֶיךָ**).
- (182) Significantly Uriah's refusal is presented in terms of a binding oath; for the oath form, cf Gesenius/Kautzsch 149a & p 472 n.1.
- (183) Cf Th.C. Vriezen, *op.cit.* p 150.
- (184) T.H. Robinson, History of Israel, vol 1 p 84 n.1.

- (185) The unique appellation **וְאֵלֶּיךָ יֵאָדָה** (Ex 4.25b,26b) may derive from the custom of circumcision as a rite of pre-marital preparation and consecration. In this connection scholars have pointed out the significant resemblance between the Hebrew term for "bridegroom" and the corresponding Arabic verb meaning "to circumcise"; thus: A. Bertholet, *History of Hebrew Civilisation*, 1926 p 112; J. Pedersen, *op.cit.* vol 1 p 492; R. de Vaux, *op.cit.* p 47.
Cf M. Noth, *OT Library*, Exodus, 1962 pp 49f.
- (186) S.H. Hooke assigns Gen 34.12-18 to (P) (*in* Peake's Commentary on the Bible, 1962, 143d, cf *ibid* 167c).
The chapter is considered to belong to the oldest literary strand by O. Eissfeldt ("L", *OT Introduction*, 1965, pp 194foot, 196foot), and by R.H. Pfeiffer ("S", *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 1952, pp 131,160).
- (187) Perhaps for the Deuteronomistic writers the supposed circumcision of the people at this particular time and place has mainly a ritual basis, namely, as a preparation for the celebration of Passover which, according to Josh 5.10 (P), took place at Gilgal.
Ex 12.43-50 (P) insists that circumcision is a prerequisite of Passover celebration.
- (188) M. Weber, *op.cit.* p 92 n2.
- (189) Cf R.H. Pfeiffer, *Religion in the Old Testament*, 1961, p 39.
- (190) H. Ringgren, *op.cit.* p 203; his reference is to H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der Ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, 1952 pp 109ff.
- (191) Thus, S.H. Hooke, *in* Peake, 158b.
- (192) M. Weber, *op.cit.* p 92.
- (193) M. Weber, *op.cit.* p 93.
- (194) In general, **וְנִדָּח** presumably indicates cultic defilement in terms of the levitical law — cf Dt 17.1, where the phrase denotes a defect or blemish in a sacrificial animal.
In Dt 23.10 the phrase is more clearly defined in the context of the sexual defilement instanced in verses 11-12.
Note also the frequent use in Deuteronomy of the injunction "put away the evil (**וְרָעָה**) from you" with reference to the execution of various offenders : Dt 13.5; 17.7,12; 19.19f; 21.21; 22.21,22,24; 24.7; cf also Ju 20.13.
- (195) **וְיִהְיֶה** (Dt 23.11a) specifically means "ritually clean" as opposed to **וְנִדָּח**, "ritually defiled". Note the juxtaposition of the two terms in the following passages :
Lev 10.10; 11.47; Nu 5.28; Dt 12.15b,22b; 15.22b; Ezk 22.26a; 44.23b.
For the verb **וְיִהְיֶה**, cf Lev 12.7,8; 13.6 & *passim*; 14.7 & *passim*; 15.13,28; 17.15; 22.4,7; Nu 19.12,19; 31.23,24; Ezk 36.25.
- (196) For **וְיִהְיֶה** as a place, cf Nu 2.17; Jer 6.3.
- (197) Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum*, II viii 9; translation : M. Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins*, 1961, p 178.

- (198) For עֶרְוָה as "nakedness", cf Gen 9.22,23; and more specifically, with a sexual connotation, Lev 18.6 & passim; 20.17 & passim.
Note also the phrase גִּשְׁרֵי עֶרְוָה, Ex 28.42.
The phrase אֶרְוַת אִשָּׁה recurs in Dt 24.1, indicating grounds for putting away a wife, but the content of the verse does not clarify the specific defilement involved.
- (199) M. Noth considers the wearing of breeches by priests (Ex 28.42f; 39.28; Lev 6.10; 16.4; Ezk 44.18) to be a later development, OT Library, Exodus, p 227.
- (200) Josephus notes that the Essenes are supplied with a loin cloth for wearing during their purificatory baths, BJ II viii 5,7.
A regulation in the Zadokite Fragments, XII 1-2, prohibits bathing in water too shallow to cover a man (R.H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, 1913, vol 2)
Note a similar precaution against the display of nakedness in 1 QS 7.13b-16a :
Whoever brings his hand from under his garment when he is scantily clad, so that his nakedness is seen, shall be fined for thirty days (cf ibid 12b);
vide W.H. Brownlee, BASOR 10-12 1951 ad loc.
- (201) G. von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 70.
Note especially : Dt 26.15a; 1 K 8.30 & passim (=2 Chr 6.21);
cf 1 K 8.27 (=2 Chr 6.18); cf 2 Chr 7.14b.
For the corresponding "name" concept, note :
Dt 12.5,11,21; 14.23,24; 16.2,6,11; 26.2; 1 K 8.16,29 (=2 Chr 6.5,20); 9.3 (=2 Chr 7.16); 11.36; 14.21 (=2 Chr 12.13);
2 K 21.4,7 (=2 Chr 33.4,7); 23.27; 2 Chr 6.6; 20.9; Neh 1.9; Jer 7.12.
- (202) For the intensive and reflexive force of the Hithpa'el, see Gesenius/Kautzsch 54f; cf S.R. Driver, ICC Deuteronomy 1895, ad loc.
- (203) Note especially the concept of "manifestation" (as opposed to "dwelling") associated with the ancient desert Tent of Meeting;
M. Noth, OT Library, Exodus, pp 255f; G. von Rad, OT Theology, vol 1 pp 235ff, cf ibid p 61; cf W. Eichrodt, op.cit. pp 109f; R. de Vaux, op.cit. pp 294f.
- (204) The mention of women in this passage might seem to indicate that the camp represented simply the community rather than the mobilised militia. However, for the Exodus, the period of the desert wandering, and the entry into Canaan, the community would perforce be organised on para-military lines.
J. Pedersen, therefore, rightly comments that the rules in Nu 5.1-4 applied in the first place to the army, op.cit. vol 2 p 8. Cf supra, note (131).

- (205) See G. von Rad, OT Library, Deuteronomy, p 146.

For examples of the cultic assembly, note especially the assemblies at Mizpah : Ju 20.1,2; 1 Sam 7.5,6; 10.17; (in the first and second instances the assembly is convened for military purposes).

Mention may also be made of the assembly at Sinai (Ex 19.10-15), for which cultic preparation was necessary.

The reported circumcision of the people prior to the Conquest (Josh 5.2-9) may be the basis of another such cultic assembly.

- (206) Analogous to the regulation for the newly betrothed is the law of Dt 24.5 which indicates for the newly married man one year's exemption from military duties and from any service to the state.

In form, this isolated (and not exclusively military) reference in a section dealing with marriage and divorce, presents a marked contrast to the stereotyped formulae of Dt 20.5-7.

- (207) The law prohibiting the use of fruit trees for siege-works, Dt 20.19-20, reflects a similar state of society and a similar motivation — contrast the "scorched earth" policy of 2 K 3.19.

- (208) The relevance of this suggestion may be seen in the context of the Deuteronomic law for limiting royal power, Dt 17.14-20; cf G. von Rad, OT Library, Deuteronomy, p 119.

The power of a monarch to conscript his subjects is explicit in 1 Sam 8.11f (note also the references to the acquisition of fields and vineyards, ibid vv 14f., asses and sheep, vv 16b-17).

David's general military census may to some extent be viewed in this light (2 Sam 24).

- (209) It is interesting to note a brief passage in the Ugaritic epic, The Legend of King Keret (14th century BC) :

Even the new-wed groom goes forth,
He drives (OR, leaves ?) to another his wife,
To a stranger his well-beloved.

(ANET, 3rd. ed. & Suppl. 1969 p 143, lines 101ff). On the other hand, the specific mention of the newly wedded man might lead us to suppose that the passage envisages exceptional circumstances — the implication being that a bridegroom would not normally be expected to go to war.

- (210) S.R. Driver notes that the law of military service implies a simpler state of society than the age of the later kings, ICC, Deuteronomy, Introd. lxi.

G. von Rad considers Dt 20.5-7,9 may go back to the pre-Deuteronomic period of the monarchy, OT Library, Deuteronomy, p 132. Von Rad would not date the regulations earlier than the monarchy in view of his interpretation of the "officers" (*סָרִיסִים*) as "royal officials". Nevertheless, the substance of the regulations may be much older than the Deuteronomic form and presentation. Moreover, the idea of warrior disqualification presupposes (and is presumably based upon) cultic concepts and practices more primitive (and less rational) than the humanitarian motivation of the Deuteronomic regulations.

- (211) The connotation "exemption" is explicit in the term ^{קָדַשׁ}, Dt 24.5; cf 1 K 15.22a.

The cultic background is most obvious in the use of the verb "make common" or "set free" (i.e. from cultic restriction), Dt 20.6; cf Jer 31.5 and note also the similar use of ^{שָׁחַ}, 1 Sam 21.4,5.

For the tabu of the use of fruit trees during the first four years of growth, cf Lev 19.23-25; (significantly, in the first three years they are designated "uncircumcised"; in the fourth year they are "holy to Yahweh").

Dedication (verb ^{קָדַשׁ}, Dt 20.5) of an ordinary house is not attested anywhere else in the Old Testament; (note references to the dedication of the house of God, 1 K 8.63 (=2 Chr 7.5); Ezr 6.16,17; the altar, Nu 7.10,11,84,88; 2 Chr 7.9; and the wall of Jerusalem, Neh 12.27).

As with the vineyard, the idea of house-dedication in Dt 20.5 may simply be that of bringing the house into common use, i.e., beginning to live in it (thus explicitly, Dt 28.30: ^{וְלֹא-אֶחָד יֵשֵׁב בָּהֶן}).

- (212) J. Pedersen, op.cit. vol 2 p 9.

- (213) G. von Rad, OT Library, Deuteronomy, p 132; his reference is to F. Schwally, Semitische Kriegsaltertümer, 1901 pp 75ff.

Cf supra p 79.

- (214) For the ascetic restrictions of the Rechabites, note Jer 35.6-10; the episode may be dated c. 598 BC. For earlier evidence, note the support given to Jehu by Jehonadab ben Rechab, 2 K 10.15,23. Their ancestral origins may go back to the earliest nomadic tribes; note the possible connection with Calebites and Kenites (1 Chr 2.55; 4.11,12 (reading Caleb for Celub, and Rechab for Rechab)).

For the rejection of the vine by the life-long Nazirite, note Ju 13.4,7; cf 1 Sam 1.15. This is supported by the formal regulations for the Nazirite vow, Nu 6.3-4.

The nomadic ascetic ideal is to some extent reflected in the prophetic oracle tradition. Thus, in the context of the Day of Yahweh, Am 5.11 and Zeph 1.13 present the concept of building houses and not occupying them, planting vineyards and not enjoying their produce. A similar formulation (with an additional reference to betrothal) recurs in Dt 28.30 in the context of the curses for disobedience. For a much later revival at the end of the NT period, cf 2 Esdras 16.40-44.

- (215) Thus, G. von Rad, OT Library, Deuteronomy, p 132.

- (216) Note the similarity in phraseology:

^{וְלֹא-אֶחָד יֵשֵׁב בָּהֶן} v 3

^{וְלֹא-אֶחָד יֵשֵׁב בָּהֶן} v 8

- (217) Dismissal after battle (including flight after defeat):
1 Sam 4.10; 2 Sam 18.17b; 20.22; 2 K 8.21; 14.12 (=2 Chr 25.22);
cf also: Josh 22.4,6,7,8; 2 Sam 19.8.

Dismissal of men not required for battle: Ju 7.8a; 1 Sam 13.2b.

Dismissal of the cultic assembly: 1 K 8.66(=2 Chr 7.10); cf Dt 5.30.

Dismissal indicative of refusal to give allegiance:

1 K 12.16 (=2 Chr 10.16); 2 Sam 20.1.

(Cf G. von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 14).

(218)

Note especially, P.D. Miller, op.cit. pp 74-127.

(219)

2 Sam 22.14 (=Ps 18.14(EVV13)); Ps 46.7(EVV6); Ps 68.34(EVV33); Jer 10.13 (=51.16); 25.30; Joel 2.11; 4.16(EVV 3.16); Am 1.2.

For a comparable phrase with the Hiph'il of שָׁמַע , cf Is 30.30.

Note the combined terminology, $\text{שָׁמַע} : \text{קוֹל} : \text{קוֹל}$, Job 37.4-5; $\text{קוֹל} : \text{קוֹל}$, 1 S 7.10b; Job 40.9b.

Cf also, "the voice of Thy thunder", Ps 77.19(EVV18); 104.7b.

Note the reference to the Sumerian storm-god Ishkur:

At your roar the great mountain Enlil lowers his head in fear;
At your bellow Ninlil trembles. (ANET p 578, lines 12-13)

(220)

In Ugaritic texts the storm-god Baal is frequently referred to as the Rider of the Clouds:

ANET pp 130-1	(2)	III AB A	lines	8,29
p 132	e	II AB (iii)	lines	11,18
p 134		(v)	lines	112,121
p 137	f	V AB D	lines	34,48,50
p 138	g	I AB (ii)	line	7
p 142	h	IV AB (iii)	line	37
p 153		AQHTC (i)	line	43

Note also, ibid p 578, in the Sumerian hymn, Ishkur and the Destruction of the Rebellious Land, Ishkur is described as "the Lord who rides the storm" (line 7).

For the comparable motif of Yahweh riding on a cherub (2 Sam 22.11) and the corresponding designation "enthroned on the cherubim", see G. Fohrer, op.cit. p 165 (cf ibid p 105). H. Ringgren considers that the context of 2 Sam 22.11 suggests storm clouds, op.cit. p 100.

(221)

Emendation, as suggested by P.D. Miller (op.cit. p 105), and W.F. Albright (Archaeology of Palestine (Pelican) 1949, p 233), seems unnecessary.

(222)

Numerous references to storm imagery are found in the Near Eastern myths.

The Sumerian storm-god Ishkur harnesses the winds, sends forth lightning, and destroys by hailstones: ANET p 578, Ishkur and the Destruction of the Rebellious Land, lines 15-25; in lines 27,29 Ishkur is described as "a howling wind" and "a roaring storm".

The Sumerian hymnal prayer to Innana portrays her as goddess of war: thundering (lines 10,30), bringing down the flood (11), raining fire on the land (13), and sending the destroying storm (17f,26-31) -- ANET p 580.

In the Sumerian Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur, ANET pp 458-60 Enlil sends the devastating storm (lines 172-189,193-210), and hurls fire against the city (258-260).

Akkadian texts mention the storm-god Adad. E.g., The Gilgamesh Epic, Tablet XI lines 96ff,105f, ANET p 94.

In the Myth of Zu, Adad strikes with lightning, ANET p 111 lines 11f; p 112 lines 31-36.

In the Code of Hammurabi Adad is called the warrior (ANET p 165 Prologue iii lines 53f), and god of rain, flood and thunder (ANET p 168 law 48 p 179 Epilogue, reverse xxvii lines 61-80).

For Adad as weather/storm-god, note also ANET p 533 Akkadian Treaties iv; p 538 The Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon, line 47(440).

In the Hittite pre-battle ritual carried out at the border of the enemy's land, sacrifice and offerings are made to all the gods including the Storm-god, ANET p 354 Ritual before Battle, (i) lines 1-5; (iii) 5-9.

Similarly, in an oath-taking ceremony for warriors, the symbolic breaking of a plough is accompanied by the words: "Whoever breaks these oaths, let the Storm-god break his plough", ANET p 354, The Soldiers' Oath, iii lines 36-42.

Frequent reference is made to the Storm-god in Hittite prayers, cf ANET pp 393-396, 398, 400.

For the evidence of the Assyrian Tukulti-Ninurta epic, see P.C. Craigie op.cit. pp 63, 65, 125.

- 223) P.C. Craigie, op.cit. p 147; thus, J Gray, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1967, p 239; note also Gray's reference to the concept of the stars as the source of rain, *ibid.*
- 224) Thus, C.R. North, Old Testament Interpretation of History (1946), 1953 (reprint) p 76.
- 225) P.D. Miller, op.cit. pp 123-127.
- 226) Note especially the holy war imagery: trumpet and battle-cry, the trembling of the people, the announcing of the Day of Yahweh (Joel 2.1); the emphasis on darkness (v 2); the fire motif and consequent desolation (v 3); earthquake and darkening of the celestial bodies (v 10); the thundering of the divine voice and references to Yahweh's army (v 11).
Cf H.W. Wolff, Dodekapropheten, Joel 1963 pp 47-50; L.H. Brockington, Peake 539d.
For the description of armies as locusts, note Ju 6.5; 7.12; Jer 46.23; cf Is 7.18; a notable example occurs in the Sumerian Curse of Agade, ANET p 639 line 158.
- 227) Cf., the angel of Yahweh with drawn sword in the Balaam tradition (Nu 22.23); note also 1 Chr 21.16 -- here the sword is peculiar to the Chronicler's account (contrast 2 Sam 24.16f).
- 228) Prophetic references to warrior theophany/natural phenomena:
Is 29.6; 30.30; 40.24b; 66.15; Jer 4.13, 24; 10.10b, 13 (=51.16); 25.32; 30.23; 47.2; 50.46; Ezk 1.4 (cf v 13); 13.11b, 13; 38.19b-20, 22; Dan 9.26; 11.22; Am 1.14; Nah 1.3b, 5, 8; Zech 7.14a; 9.14.
Day of Yahweh and related passages:
Is 2.19b, 21b; 5.25; 13.13; 17.13b; 24.18b-20; 28.2, 17; Joel 2.10, 30f; 3.16; Hab 3.6b, 10; Hag 2.6, 21ff; Zech 14.4.
- 229) Is 5.30; Ezk 30.3, 18; 32.8; Joel 2.2a; Am 5.18, 20; Nah 1.8; Zeph 1.15b.
- 230) Is 13.10; 24.13a; Ezk 32.7-8; Joel 2.10; 3.4 (EVV 2.31); 4.15 (EVV 3.15); Am 8.9.
Cf also the Sumerian Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur, ANET p 458 lines 190-191.
- 231) Note, with reference to heaven, earth and mountains:
Is 2.19b, 21b; 5.25; 13.13; 24.18b; Jer 4.24; 10.10b; 50.46; Joel 2.10a; 3.16; Hab 3.10a; Hag 2.6, 21;
and with reference to people and nations:
Is 23.11; 64.2; Jer 5.22; 25.16; 33.9; 50.34b; Ezk 31.16; 32.10; 33.20; Dan 5.19; 6.26; Joel 2.1; Hag 2.7; cf Ezk 26.15, 18.
- 232) Ex 3.2; 13.21f; 19.18; 24.17; (cf 40.38; Nu 9.15, 16); Dt 4.11f, 15, 33, 36; 5.4-5, 22-26; 9.10, 15; 10.4; 18.16b; cf Ezk 1.4, 13, 27b; 8.2.
Note also the fire from heaven which consumes sacrifice:
Ju 6.21; 1 K 18.24, 38; 1 Chr 21.26; 2 Chr 7.1, 13;
and, the destroying fire from Yahweh:
Lev 10.2; Nu 11.1-3; 16.35; 26.10; Ps 106.18; cf Dt 4.24; 2 K 1.10, 12, 14.

- 233) Is 29.6; 30.30; 64.1-2; Ezk 38.1-2; Joel 2.3,5; 3.3(EVV2.30); Am 1.14; 7.4; Mic 1.4; Nah 1.5-6.
Thus also 2 Sam 22.9,13(=Ps 18.8,12f); Ps 11.6; 50.3; 97.3;
cf Dt 32.22.
- 234) Is 9.5; 10.16; 31.9; 47.14; 66.15f; Jer 48.45; 50.32b; Ezk 24.9-10; 30.8,14,16; 39.6; Hos 8.14b; Am 1.4,7,10,12; 2.2,15; 5.6; Obad 18; Nah 3.13b,15a; Zech 9.4b; 11.1; 12.6; Mal 3.19(EVV4.1).
Note the Amorite victory song, Nu 21.28; the Conquest tradition, Dt 9.3; the Elijah tradition, 2 K 1.10,12,14; cf also Lam 2.3b; 4.11b.
- 235) "Divided the Sea": Ex 14.16,21; Neh 9.11a; Job 26.12; Ps 74.13a; 78.13; 136.13; Is 51.15; 63.12; (with reference to Jordan, Josh 3.16; cf Ps 114.3b).
"Dried up the Sea": Josh 2.10a; 4.23b; Ps 66.6; 106.9; Is 51.10a; (with reference to Jordan, Josh 4.23a; 5.1).
"Brought up out of the Sea": Is 63.11.
"Led through the depths": Ps 106.9; Is 63.13; cf Ps 77.20-21(EVV19f).
"Made them pass through...": Ps 78.13; 136.14.
"Made a way in the Sea": Is 43.16; 51.10b.
The same motifs are used with reference to the return from the Exile, Is 44.27; Zech 10.10,11; cf Ps 68.23(EVV22), and to Yahweh's intended action against Babylon, Jer 51.36-7,42, and against Tyre, Ezk 26.19.
- 236) For Rahab as a designation for Egypt, see Ps 87.4; Is 30.7.
Note the allusion to the creation myth in the reference to Yahweh's subjugation of Rahab's helpers, Job 9.13b, and Yahweh's smiting of Rahab, Job 26.12b.
- 237) In Ezekiel's oracle against Egypt (dated January 587), Pharaoh is designated Tannin, Ezk 29.3; similarly Ezk 32.2. The term also occurs in the creation-myth allusion in Job 7.12.
For catching the monster with hooks, note Ezk 29.4a; cf Job 40.25f,31 (EVV 41.1f,7).
- 238) Tehom and Tannin correspond to the chaos monster Tiamat slain by Marduk in the Akkadian creation epic Enūma eliš; noteworthy is Marduk's use of the winds against Tiamat, and his harnessing of the storm-flood. ANET pp 66f, Tablet IV lines 42-50,75,95-99.
In the Gilgamesh Epic, note the stereotype phrase applied to Huwawa (Assyrian, Humbaba), guardian of the Cedar Forest: "his roaring is the storm-flood", ANET pp 79-80, Tablet III (iii) line 18; (iv) (fragment of Assyrian version II) line 3; (v) line 16. For the use of the winds against Huwawa, cf ibid p 83, Tablet V (iv) (Hittite recension) lines 13-16.
For vestiges of the creation-myth imagery, with emphasis on the term Tehom, cf Gen 1.2(P); Ps 104.6 (cf 148.7); 33.7.
Tehom features elsewhere in passages relating to the crossing of the Sea, Ps 106.9; Is 63.13, and in the warrior theophany imagery, Ps 77.17(EVV16); Hab 3.10.
For Yahweh's action against Tehom, cf Am 7.4.
In Ezekiel's oracle against Tyre, Tehom is to be Yahweh's instrument for the destruction of the city, Ezk 26.19; (cf Ex 15.5).
- 239) In Is 27.1, the description of Leviathan (representative of Yahweh's enemies on the Day of Yahweh) shows close resemblance to the monster Lotan in the Ugaritic texts:

Crushed I not El's beloved Yamm?
 Destroyed I not El's flood Rabbim?
 Did I not, pray, muzzle the Dragon?
 I did crush the crooked serpent
 Shalyat the seven-headed.

ANET p137, D lines 35ff.

If thou smite Lotan the serpent slant,
 Destroy the serpent tortuous,
 Shalyat of the seven heads.

ANET p138, g I*AB
fragment (i).

According to Ps 74.13-14a, the Biblical monster is also many-headed.

- (240) Some personification of the Sea is indicated in the motif of Yahweh rebuking the Sea :
 Ps 106.9; Is 50.2; Nah 1.4a; cf: 2 Sam 22.16 (=Ps 18.16); Ps 104.7.
- (241) 2 Sam 22.17 (Ps 18.17); Ps 29.3; 32.6; 77.20; 93.4; 144.2;
 Is 17.12f; 28.2; Ezk 26.19; 31.15; Hab 3.15;
 cf also: Ex 15.10; Neh 9.11; Is 43.16.
- (242) Job 26.5-14; Ps 29.3-5, 7-10; 33.7; 89.9; 93.3-5; 95.4f; 104.3, 5-9;
 148.4, 6-8; Jer 5.22; 10.13 = 51.6; 31.35b; Am 5.8b; 7.4; 9.6.
- (243) For the cosmic mountain as the divine dwelling-place, see especially R.J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, 1972, pp 34-97 (Canaan), 98-181 (Old Testament).
 For Yahweh's holy mountain, city, and house, especially in the context of battle imagery, note the following:
 Ps 2; 46; 48; 68.14-18; 74.1-4; 76.2-6; 78.54, 68f; 87.3; 125.1;
 Is 2.2f; 10.12, 24, 32; 24.23; 25.6f, 10; 27.13; 29.7f; 31.4b-5;
 Joel 2.1; 3.5 (Evv 2.32); 4.16f (Evv 3.16f); Obad 17, 21;
 Mic 4.1f, 7; Zech 8.2f.
- (244) O. Eissfeldt (OT Introduction, pp 133foot-134) suggests that the Book of Yashar (and by inference the Book of the Wars of Yahweh) may have been used to instruct and encourage young warriors. The specific reference is to the phrase "to teach the Judaeans the bow", 2 Sam 1.18. Eissfeldt takes "bow" to refer to warlike fitness in general. (Cf Eissfeldt, *Zwei verkannte militärtechnische Termini im AT*, VT 5 1955 pp 323-328).
 In the Septuagint version of 1 K 8.12f (LXX 3 K 8.53a), reference is made to a "Book of the Song" (*βιβλίον τῆς ᾠδῆς*), which, according to Eissfeldt (OT Introd. p 113), was a non-military collection dealing with the cultus; cf also J.A. Montgomery, *ICC Kings*, p 191.
- (245) Grammatically the phrase *יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ* presents a problem. One would immediately rule out the possibility of a personal name being in the construct state in Hebrew.
 The solution offered in Gesenius/Kautzsch (p 403: 125h) is as follows:
 When nouns which the usage of the language always treats as proper names occasionally appear to be connected with a following genitive, this is really owing to an ellipse whereby the noun which really governs the genitive, i.e. the appellative idea contained in the proper name, is suppressed. So evidently in the case of *יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ* Yahweh (the God)
 /of

of hosts; the fuller form יהוה אלהי אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהֵי 2 Sam 5.10 etc., or יהוה אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהֵי Am 3.13 etc., is a secondary expansion of the original יהוה אֱלֹהֵי ;

A more fundamental and explicit explanation of the relation between the two terms would seem to be required.

In his detailed study of the phrase, O. Eissfeldt (Kleine Schriften, 3ter Band, 1966 pp 103-123) suggests as a possibility that the second term is related to the first in an attributive rather than a genitival sense, thus, "Yahweh who is sebā'ōt" (ibid p 106).

Eissfeldt further construes sebā'ōt as an abstract intensive plural (ibid pp 110ff), and suggests specifically that the phrase may originally, or at least from an early time, have been perceived as a proper name (ibid pp 112foot-113). In this case the designation יהוה אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהֵי may be compared with the similar constructions יהוה אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהֵי (Gen 14.22), יהוה אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהֵי (Gen 21.33), and יהוה אֱלֹהֵי (Ju 6.24).

- (246) L. Köhler, op.cit. pp 50f., considers the best interpretation of the term "hosts" to be "stars"; H. Ringgren, op.cit. p 68, suggests "angels" or "stars"; P.D. Miller, op.cit. pp 154f., suggests "heavenly armies".
Cf Eissfeldt, Kleine Schriften 1966 pp 108-110.

- (247) Thus, W. Eichrodt, op.cit. vol 1 p 193; G. Fohrer, op.cit. p 164.

- (248) The other 55 instances have the literal rendering: κύριος σαβαώθ. This would seem to indicate a proper name, cf Eissfeldt, Kleine Schriften 1966 pp 112foot-113.

- (249) יהוה אֱלֹהֵי / God of Israel :

2 Sam 7.26,27 = 1 Chr 17.24; Ps 59.6; Is 21.10; 37.16; 48.2; Jer 7.3,21; 9.15; 16.9; 19.3,15; 25.17; 27.4,21; 28.2,14; 29.4,8,21,25; 32.14,15; 35.13,17,18,19; 38.17; 39.16; 42.15,18; 43.10; 44.2,7,11,25; 46.25; 48.1; 50.18; 51.33; Zeph 2.9.

יהוה אֱלֹהֵי / Holy One of Israel :

Is 5.24b; 47.4; 54.5; Jer 51.5.

יהוה אֱלֹהֵי / Mighty One of Israel :

Is 1.24; cf Jer 32.18.

Note also the explicit reference :

the god of the armies of Israel, 1 Sam 17.45.

- (250) Is 47.4; 48.2; 51.15; 54.5; Jer 10.16 (=51.19); 31.34; 32.18; 50.34; Am 4.13; 5.27; cf: 2 Sam 6.2b; Jer 15.16; Hos 12.5.

Note also the phrase "the King whose name is Yahweh sebā'ōt :

Jer 46.18; 18.15; 51.57b; cf Mal 1.14b.

- (251) Significantly, in the only instance of the epithet Yahweh šebā'ōt in Hosea, it is given as the name of the god who appeared to the patriarch Jacob at Bethel, Hos 12.4f (cf Ps 84.8; Jer 10.16 = 51.19).

For references to the ancestral tribal god, note :

Gen 9.26; 26.24; 28.13; 31.53; 32.9; Ex 3.6,15; 4.5; 2 Sam 23.1; 1 K 18.36; 1 Chr 29.18; 2 Chr 30.6; Ps 20.1; 46.7,9,11; 75.9; 76.6; 81.1; 94.7; Is 2.3; Mic 4.2 .

For references to the "God of the Fathers" phraseology, note :

Gen 31.5,29,35,42; 32.9; 43.23; 46.3; 49.25; 50.17; Ex 3.6,13,15,16; 4.5; Dt 1.21; 4.1; 6.3; 12.1; 27.3; Josh 18.3; Ju 2.12; 2 K 21.22; 1 Chr 29.20; 2 Chr — very frequently — ; Ezr 7.27; 8.28; 10.11 .

- (252) P.D. Miller considers the concept "a very archaic expression for Israel's God" which probably originated in the El cult, op.cit. p 155; similarly, W. Eichrodt, op.cit. vol 1 p 193; Eichrodt especially indicates Yahweh's role as warrior, ibid pp 192,229 .

G.H. Jones considers the epithet "fundamentally a military term which has to be considered in the context of holy war", op.cit. p 57. This is the basis and conclusion of von Rad's study of the concept, JSS 4, 1959 pp 97-108; note especially ibid pp 99foot,103f,107.

Significant references occur in connection with the wars of Saul and David (1 Sam 4.4; 15.2; 17.45; 2 Sam 5.10 = 1 Chr 11.9), in the Elijah tradition (1 K 18.15; 19.10,14; 2 K 3.14 (Elisha)), and in a number of Psalms (Ps 24.10; 46.7; 48.8; 59.5; 69.6; 80.4,7,14,19; 84.1,3,8,12; 89.8).

- (253) Thus, W. Eichrodt, op.cit. vol 1 p 192; R. Smend, op.cit. pp 81,83; P.D. Miller, op.cit. pp 152,155; H. Ringgren, op.cit. p 68; cf Th.C. Vriezen, op.cit. p 165; G.H. Jones, op.cit. p 57. R. de Vaux expresses uncertainty, op.cit. p 259. Note also, Eissfeldt Kl. Schr. 3 pp 115f.
- (254) O. Eissfeldt, OT Introduction, p 269.
- (255) Thus, R. de Vaux, op.cit. p 259. Note also 1 Sam 4.4 .
- (256) The epithet Yahweh šebā'ōt and related contexts:

1 Warrior activity

- a) human : 1 Sam 15.2; 17.45; 2 Sam 5.10; Zech 14.14 .
- b) Yahweh's : Ps 24.10; Is 10.26,33; 13.4; 14.22-27; 27.3; 19.18-25; 23.9; 28.22; 31.4,5; Jer 6.6; 11.17,20,22; 20.12; 28.2; 30.8; 46.10,25; 48.15; 49.5,26f,35f; 50.15,31f,34; Nah 2.13; 3.5; Hab 2.13; Hag 2.6-9,21ff; Zech 9.15; 10.3ff; cf 12.2-9 .
- c) Day of Yahweh : Is 2.12; 13.13; 19.16; 22.5,12,25; Jer 30.8; 46.10; Zeph 2.9f; Hag 2.23; Zech 12.2-9; 13.1f; Mal 3.19 (EVV 4.1).
- d) holy war tradition motifs :

hand stretched out, Is 14.26f; shaking the hand over, Is 19.16; giving into the hand, Is 19.4; Jer 46.26; /panic

panic, Is 19.17; Jer 49.5; fire, Jer 49.27; Mal 3.19(EVV 4.1).
 anger, Jer 44.6; Zech 7.12; punishment, Jer 11.22; 46.25;
 revenge, Is 1.24; Jer 11.20; 20.12; 46.10; "spirit", Zech 4.6.

2 Warrior theophany

a) Yahweh as Creator, controller of nature, and storm-god :

Ps 46; Is 9.19; 29.6; Jer 31.35; 49.36; Am 4.13; 9.5-6; Hag 2.6f.

b) chaos-battle myth: Ps 89.8-10; Jer 31.35b.

c) cosmic armies: Is 13.4.

d) cosmic mountain/dwelling-place:

Ps 46.4-5; 48.8; Is 8.18; 10.24; 18.7; 24.23; 25.6; Zech 8.3.

(257) Note in particular, יְהוָה שֶׁבַח , possibly the pre-Israelite god of Jerusalem: Gen 14.18-20,22; Ps 78.35; (שֶׁבַח יְהוָה : Dan 3.26; 3.32 (EVV 4.2)); 5.18,21), and יְהוָה שֶׁבַח , the god of the mountain (Akkad. "shadu", cf W.F. Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity, 1940, p 186): Gen 17.1; 28.3; 35.11; 43.14; 48.3; Ex 6.3; Ezk 10.5.

For the Canaanite El as a warrior, cf P.D. Miller, HTR 60 1967 pp 411-431, and op.cit. (= Divine Warrior) p 48. According to Miller, the cosmic and mythical features of the El tradition and the historical and institutional elements of the tribal deity ("God of the Fathers") tradition are combined in the characterisation of Yahweh, and account for the fusion of the cosmic and the earthly in the Israelite conception of holy war (Miller, Divine warrior, pp 162f; vide supra p 64).

Note also the ancient epithet יְהוָה שֶׁבַח : Gen 49.24; Ps 132.2,5; Is 49.26; 60.16; cf Is 1.24: יְהוָה שֶׁבַח ; cf B Vawter, The Canaanite Background of Genesis 49, CBQ 17 1955 p 11; for the bull imagery in Ugarit and the Old Testament, cf Miller, HTR 60 1967 pp 418-423, Divine Warrior p 54.

(258) The concept of Yahweh as King is generally accepted as being early in Israel, consonant with ancient Near Eastern and Canaanite ideas; cf H. Ringgren, op.cit. pp 79-82,84; R. de Vaux, op.cit. p 98; F.M. Cross, The Divine Warrior in Israel's Cult, p 24 n43; L. Köhler, op.cit. p 31; A.R. Johnston, Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel, 1967 pp 73,83.

(259) For the universal sovereignty of Yahweh, note: 1 Chr 29.11f; 2 Chr 20.6; Ps 22.28f (EVV 27f); 59.14 (EVV 13); 103.12; 113.4; 145.1,11ff; Zech 14.9; cf Is 37.16; 52.7b,10; 54.5.

Note also a characteristic motif in Daniel: "until you may know that the Most High rules in the kingdom of men", Dan 4.22,29 (EVV 25,32); cf 4.14 (EVV 17); 5.21; Ps 59.14 (EVV 13).

(260) F. Stolz, op.cit. pp 38-39.

(261) ANET p 130, (1) III AB B lines 24-29:

Them doth Baal rebuke;

"Why, O gods, have ye dropped

Your head(s) down upon your knees

And on your thrones of princship?

I see the gods are cowed

With terror of the messengers of Yamm,

Of the envoys of Judge Naha(r).

Lift up, O gods, your heads

From upon your knees,

/From

From upon your thrones of princship,
And I'll answer (or, humble) the messengers of Yamm,
The envoys of Judge Nahar."
The gods lift up their heads
From upon their knees.....

Cf F.M. Cross, Divine Warrior, pp 21-23.

- 62) Warrior theophany context: Ps 47; 97.1-6; 99.1; cf 68.25; 89.19.
Mythical imagery context: Ps 29.10; 74.12ff; cf 93.1-4; 95.3-5;
96.10-1; 98.6-8.
Yahweh šēbā'ōt context: Ps 84.4(EV3); Is 6.5b; 44.6; Jer 46.18a;
48.15; 51.57b; Zech 14.16,17; Mal 1.14b;
cf Is 24.23.

- 63) For the everlasting kingship of Yahweh note:
Ps 10.16; 29.10; 45.7(EVV6); 66.7a; 145.13; 146.10; Jer 10.10; Lam 5.19;
Dan 4.3,34; 6.26b; 7.27b.

- 64) Köhler notes that the basic concept in the Book of Judges is that
"judging" Israel means fighting her battles; accordingly, Yahweh's
warrior actions on behalf of His people are termed יָדָהּ יְהוָה
(L. Köhler, op.cit. p 33); note the following:

Ju 5.11; 1 Sam 12.7; Mic 6.5; cf Ps 103.6; Is 45.24; Dan 9.16.

Yahweh's mighty acts of deliverance are also called שִׁפְטֵי יְהוָה
Ex 6.6; 7.4; and גִּשְׁפֵּי יְהוָה Ps 105.5,7.

For Yahweh as King and Judge in the context of war note also:
Ps 98.6-9; Is 33.22.

- 65) G. von Rad notes that Yahweh's presence and effective intervention
are central for holy war, Der heilige Krieg, p 31; cf OT Theology
vol 1 p 328.

- 66) Terminology denoting Yahweh's warrior action

אַבַּר, destroy: Dt 11.4; 28.63; Job 12.23; Ps 143.12; Jer 12.17;
15.7; 49.38; 51.55; Ezk 25.16; 28.16; Zeph 2.5,13;
Mic 5.10.

אָכַל, devour: Nu 24.8; Dt 32.42; Is 31.8; cf Ex 15.7b;
(extensively used of Yahweh's fire and sword).

אֶשׁ, become desolate: Is 24.6; Hos 14.1(EV13.16).

בָּגַל, overwhelm: Ps 21.10(EV9); Lam 2.2,5,8.

בָּזַק, make waste: Is 24.1; Nah 2.11.

בָּרַח, break in pieces, crush: Ps 89.11(EV10).

בָּרַח, exterminate (silence): Jer 47.5.

בָּרַח, destroy (reduce to silence): Jer 49.26; 50.30.

הָרַח, destroy, harass: Dt 7.23; הָרַח, subst. Dt 7.23; 1 Sam 5.9,11;
1 Sam 14.20.

הָרַח, rout, destroy: Ex 23.27; Dt 2.15; Josh 10.10; Ju 4.15;
1 Sam 7.10; 2 Sam 22.15(=Ps18); Ps 144.6.

הָרַח, overthrow: Lam 4.6; הָרַח, subst. Is 13.19; Jer 50.40;
Am 4.11.

הָרַח, kill, slay: Ex 13.15; cf 22.24; Ps 135.10; 136.18; Lam 2.21;
3.43; Am 2.3; 4.10; 9.1,4; הָרַח, subst. Is 30.25.

הָרַח, break down, destroy: Ex 15.7; Ps 28.5.

הַבִּיחַ, destroy: Is 13.5.

הָרַב, make desolate, ruin: Is 34.10; 42.15; 60.12; Jer 26.9; 33.10,12; Ezk 6.6; 12.20; 26.2b,19; 29.12; 30.7b; Zeph 3.6.

הִרְבֵּה, subst. Jer 7.34b; 22.5; 25.9b,11,18; 44.2,27; Ezk 25.13; 26.20; **הִרְבֵּה**, Zeph 2.14.

הִרְבֵּה, "devote to destruction": Josh 11.20a; Is 11.15a; 34.2; Jer 25.9b; cf 1 K 20.42b.

הִתְחַלֵּץ, break in pieces: Is 30.31.

הִתְחַלֵּץ, slaughter: Lam 2.21; Ezk 21.10; **הִתְחַלֵּץ**, subst. Is 34.6; Ezk 21.10,15,28; cf **הִתְחַלֵּץ** Is 34.2.

הִתְחַלֵּץ, ruin: Is 28.2.

הִתְחַלֵּץ, desolate (burn): Jer 46.19.

הִתְחַלֵּץ, throw (shoot arrows): Ex 15.4.

הִתְחַלֵּץ, Lay waste: Ps 59.13; Jer 9.16; 14.12; 16.4; 49.37b; Ezk 13.13,14; Hos 11.6.

הִתְחַלֵּץ, cut down, off: Dt 12.29; 19.1; Josh 23.4; 2 Sam 7.9=1 Chr 17.8; 1 K 9.7; Is 11.13; 14.22; Jer 47.4; 48.2; 51.62; Ezk 14.8,13,17,19,21; 21.3,4; 25.7,13,16; 29.3; 30.15; 35.7; Am 1.5,8; 2.3; Obad 9,10; Nah 3.15; Zeph 3.6; Zech 9.6; 13.8.

הִתְחַלֵּץ, beat down, break in pieces: Ps 89.23; Jer 46.5.

הִתְחַלֵּץ, (become, make a)desert: Is 64.10; Jer 22.6; 50.12; Joel 3.19; Zeph 2.13; also **הִתְחַלֵּץ**, Jer 51.43.

הִתְחַלֵּץ, smite, dash in pieces: Ps 68.22(EVV21); 110.6; Hab 3.13.

הִתְחַלֵּץ, smite, wound, kill: Ex 12.23,27; Dt 28.7; Ju 20.35a; 1 Sam 7.10; 2 Chr 14.12; 20.22; Is 19.22a; Zech 14.12,18.

הִתְחַלֵּץ, smite, wound, kill: Ex 3.20; 9.15; 12.12,13b,29; Nu 3.13; 8.17; 32.4; 33.4; 1 Sam 4.8; 5.5,9; 6.19; 1 Chr 14.15b; Ps 3.7; 78.51,66; 105.36; 135.8,10; 136.10,17; Is 11.15; Jer 33.5; Ezk 32.15; Zech 9.4; 10.11;

הִתְחַלֵּץ, subst. 1 Sam 6.19.

הִתְחַלֵּץ, shake out, overthrow: Ex 14.27; Ps 136.15.

הִתְחַלֵּץ, break down, dash in pieces: Jer 51.20,21,22,23.

הִתְחַלֵּץ, destroy, cast out: 1 K 14.15; 2 Chr 7.20; Jer 12.14,17.

הִתְחַלֵּץ, consume: Jer 3.13; Zeph 1.2,3.

הִתְחַלֵּץ, break down, make a breach: 2 Sam 5.20(=1 Chr 14.11).

הִתְחַלֵּץ, (subst.) destruction: Dt 32.24.

הִתְחַלֵּץ, (subst.) slaughter: Obad 9.

הִתְחַלֵּץ, (subst.) destruction: Ezk 7.25.

הִתְחַלֵּץ, break, crush: Job 34.24; Ps 2.9.

הִתְחַלֵּץ, make desolate: Is 6.11; **הִתְחַלֵּץ**, subst. Is 24.12; **הִתְחַלֵּץ**, Lam 3.47;

הִתְחַלֵּץ, (subst.) destruction: Is 10.3; 47.11; **הִתְחַלֵּץ**, Zeph 1.15.

הִתְחַלֵּץ, break in pieces: Ps 29.5; 48.8(EVV7); 74.13,14; 76.4(EVV3); 105.33; Is 14.25; 45.2; Jer 17.18b; 19.11; 48.38; 49.35; Ezk 30.21,22,24; Hos 1.5; Am 1.5;

הִתְחַלֵּץ, subst. calamity, ruin: Is 51.19; Jer 4.6,20; 6.1; 46.20; 48.3,5; 50.22,54; Lam 2.11; 3.47,48; 4.10; Ezk 32.9; **הִתְחַלֵּץ**, Jer 17.18.

- רָשָׁה**, lay waste: Is 15.1; 23.1; Nah 3.7;
רָשָׁה, subst. destruction: Is 13.6; Hos 7.13; 9.6; Joel 1.15.
רָשָׁה, slay: Nu 14.16.
רָשָׁה, destroy: Ju 20.35a; 2 Sam 24.16 cf 1 Chr 21.12b,15; Ps 78.45;
 Jer 13.14; 15.3,6; 51.1,11,20b; Lam 2.5,8;
רָשָׁה, subst. Ezk 5.16.
רָשָׁה, destroy: Dt 32.25.
רָשָׁה, destroy: Dt 2.21,22,23; 7.23b; 9.3; 31.3,4; Josh 11.20b; 24.8;
 2 K 21.9b; 1 Chr 5.25b; 2 Chr 33.9b; Is 13.9; 14.23;
 Ezk 14.9; 25.7; Am 2.9; 9.8; Hag 2.22; Zech 12.9;
 Mic 5.14.
רָשָׁה, make desolate: 1 Sam 5.6; Jer 10.25b; 49.20b; 50.45b; Lam 1.4;
 5.18; Ezk 20.26b; 29.12; 30.7a,12,14a; 33.28;
 36.4; Am 7.9; Zeph 3.6; Zech 7.14; Mic 6.13;
רָשָׁה, subst.: Ps 46.9(EVV8); Is 5.9; 13.9; 24.12; Jer 4.7; 18.16;
 19.8; 25.28; 46.19; 48.9; 49.13,17; 50.3,23;
 51.29,43; Hos 5.9; Zeph 2.15; Zech 7.14; Mic 6.16
רָשָׁה, subst.: Is 1.7; 6.11; 17.9; 64.10; Jer 4.27; 6.8; 9.11;
 10.22; 25.12; 35.22; 44.6; 49.2,33; 50.13;
 51.26,62; Ezk 6.14; 12.20; 14.15,16; 15.8;
 23.33; 29.9,10,12; 32.15; 33.28,29; 35.3,4,7,9,
 14,15; Joel 2.3; 3.19; Mic 7.13; Zeph 1.13;
 2.4,9,13.
רָשָׁה, destroy (completely): Nu 14.35; 32.13; Dt 2.15,16; Josh 5.6;
 Jer 14.15; 24.10; 27.8; 44.12,18,27.

(267) **גְּבוּרָה**: Dt 3.24; 1 Chr 29.11,12; 2 Chr 20.6; Job 12.13; 26.14;
 Ps 20.7(EVV6); 21.14(EVV13); 65.7(EVV6); 66.7; 80.3(EVV2);
 89.14(EVV13); 106.2,8; 145.4,11,12; 150.2.

(268) The deliverance from Egypt and the conquest of Canaan are taken up into a Heilsgeschichte, the recall and recital of which form an essential part of covenant-renewal: Ex 19.4; 20.2; Josh 23.3-10; 24.2-13,17f; cf Dt 5.6,15; 6.20-25. (Note E.W. Nicholson's reference to the function of the prophet as covenant mediator, op.cit. pp 77ff).

The events of the Heilsgeschichte were recited on cultic occasions: Ps 105 (thanksgiving); Ps 106 (confession); 1 Sam 10.18 (the election of Saul); Dt 26.5-9 (ritual presentation of firstfruits).

Von ad draws attention to the "confessional" character of the Heilsgeschichte references, OT Theology, vol 1 pp 175foot-178; cf ibid pp 121 f, 281.

(269) Note specifically the references to Assyria as the rod of Yahweh's anger (Is 10.5-6), the King of Babylon as Yahweh's servant (Jer 25.9; 43.10 f), and Israel as Yahweh's battle-axe (Jer 51.20-23).

Cf. also: Dt 28.48-52; 2 K 24.2; 1 Chr 5.26; Is 19.4; Jer 46.25 f;
 50.9; 51.11; Ezk 25.14; 26.3; 30.10 f; 32.11 f;
 (cf Jer 38.2-3,17 f).

(270) For the enemy fighting each other, cf: 1 Sam 14.20; 2 Chr 20.23b, and for their flight, cf: Jer 46.5; 49.5,8,24,30; cf also Is 24.18; Jer 48.44.

In connection with divine "panic", the following terms and instances may be noted:

פָּנִיקָה, Ex 15.16; 23.27; Dt 32.25; **פָּנִיקָה**, Gen 35.5;

/ **פָּנִיקָה**

אֶזְכְּרָה , Ezk 32.32;

זָכַרְתִּי , Ezk 30.13b;

זָכַרְתִּי , Jer 46.5b; 49.29b; Ezk 21.17(EVV 12);

זָכַרְתִּי , Dt 4.34; cf 34.12; Ps 9.21(EVV 20); Jer 32.21;

זָכַרְתִּי , cf Is 10.33;

זָכַרְתִּי , Ex 15.16; 1 Sam 11.7b; 2 Chr 14.14; 17.10; 20.19; Is 24.17,18;

Jer 48.43,44; 49.5; Lam 3.47; (for verb, cf Is 19.16,17);

זָכַרְתִּי , Ex 23.28; Dt 7.20; Josh 24.12; (A.V. "hornets", cf F. Stolz, op.cit. pp 20,191);

זָכַרְתִּי , Ps 48.7(EVV 6).

(271) Ex 15.11; Dt 7.21; 10.17; Neh 1.5; 4.8(EVV 14); 9.32a; Ps 47.3(EVV 2); 66.3; 68.36(EVV 35); 76.8,13(EVV 7,12); 89.8(EVV 7); cf Jer 20.11; Dan 9.4; Zeph 2.11; cf 1 Chr 16.25.

(272) Dt 2.25; 11.25; Josh 2.9 cf v 24; 1 Chr 14.17; Esth 8.17b; 9.2b,3b; Ps 105.38b; Is 19.17; cf Jer 20.4; cf Gen 9.2.

(273) זָכַרְתִּי , Josh 2.11; 5.1b; 7.5 (Joshua's men); Is 13.7; 19.1b; Ezk 21.12(EVV 7); Nah 2.10;

note similar terminology in the officers' speech, Dt 20.8 :

זָכַרְתִּי : זָכַרְתִּי : זָכַרְתִּי .

זָכַרְתִּי , Ezk 21.20(EVV 15); cf Josh 2.24; cf Jer 49.23.

(274) זָכַרְתִּי , Is 13.7; Jer 6.24; 49.24; 50.43; Ezk 7.17; 21.12(EVV 7).

(275) Knees knock, Nah 2.10; knees weak as water, Ezk 7.17; 21.12(EVV 7).

(276) Ps 48.6; Is 13.8; Jer 6.24; 49.24; 50.43.

(277) Ex 15.15; Dt 2.25; cf Josh 2.9,24; 1 Sam 14.15a; Ps 99.1; Is 23.11; 64.2b; Jer 5.22; 25.16; 33.9; 50.34b; Ezk 26.15,16b,18; 31.16; 32.10; 38.20; Dan 5.19; 6.26; Hos 11.10,11; Joel 2.1; Am 8.8; Hag 2.7.

For the shaking or trembling of heaven, earth and mountains, vide supra, note (231).

(278) Ex 14.16,21f,27-30; 15.1b,4-8,10,19,21b; Dt 4.34a; Josh 6.20; 2 K 19.35 = 2 Chr 32.21a; 2 Chr 20.17,24.

(279) Josh 6; Ju 7; Ex 14; 1 Sam 17; vide G. von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, pp 43-50.

(280) For the angel of Yahweh as a destroying angel, cf: 2 Sam 24.16,17 (1 Chr 21.12,15,16,18); 2 K 19.35 (2 Chr 32.21); note also the angelic messenger with drawn sword, Nu 22.23,31 (cf Josh 5.13f).

For the angel who leads, cf: Gen 24.7b,40; Ex 14.19a; 23.20,23; 32.34; 33.2.

Significant also is the warrior role of Michael in Daniel: Dan 10.13,21; 12.1; (cf Rev 12.7).

(281) Note especially, 2 Chr 20.14-24; cf G. von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 81 (and for the prophetic concept, ibid pp 56-62). Vide supra pp 25f.

(282) For Yahweh "doing wonders" (מַעֲשֵׂה פִלְאָ / נִפְלְאוֹת), note:

Ex 3.20; 15.11; 34.10; Josh 3.5; 1 Chr 16.12; Neh 9.17a; Ps 72.18; 77.15(EVV 14); 78.11,12; 86.10; 98.1; 105.5; 106.21b-2; 136.4; Is 25.1; 29.14; Joel 2.26; Mic 7.15.

- (283) **שָׁרָה**, Ex 34.11; 23.28-30; 33.2; Dt 33.27; Josh 24.12,18; Ju 2.3; 2.3; Ps 78.55; 80.9 (EVV8);
הָרָה, Dt 9.4;
שָׁרָה, Ex 34.24; Nu 32.21; Josh 3.10; 13.6; 23.5,9; Ju 11.24; 1 K 14.24; 21.26; 2 K 16.3 (=2 Chr 28.3); 17.8; 21.2 (=2 Chr 33.2); 2 Chr 20.7; Ps 44.2;
שָׁרָה, Dt 7.1,22;
הָרָה, Lev 18.24; 20.23;
 cf **הָרָה**, Dt 12.29; 19.1; Josh 23.4.
- (284) Josh 10.14,42; 23.3; 2 Chr 20.29; cf Ex 14.25.
- (285) Gen 14.20; Nu 21.3; Dt 2.33,36; 3.3; Josh 10.12,30,32; 11.8; 21.44; 24.8,11; Ju 1.4; 3.10; 8.3; 11.21,32; 12.3; 1 Sam 30.23b; 1 Chr 5.20; 2 Chr 13.16; 16.8; 24.24; 28.5,9. For war-speech motif, cf note (102).
- (286) Ex 14.13; Ju 15.18; 1 Sam 11.13; 19.5; 2 Sam 22.3,36,47,51 (=Ps 18); 2 Sam 23.10,12; 2 K 13.17; 1 Chr 11.14; 29.11; 2 Chr 20.17; Ps 3.8; 20.5; 27.1; 35.3; 68.20; 74.12; 98.1,2,3; 140.7; Is 25.8-9; 52.10; Hab 3.13.
 It will be noted that the three foregoing motifs correspond to the content of pre-battle encouragement speeches, vide supra p 20.
- (287) Ex 7.5; 14.4,18; 1 Sam 17.46; Is 49.26; cf 45.3; cf also 1 K 20.13,28; the phrase occurs frequently in Ezekiel with reference both to Israel and to foreign nations.
- (288) For Yahweh's hand "stretched out" or "shaken over", note:
 Ex 3.20; 7.5; 9.15; 13.3,9,14,16; 15.6,12; Dt 2.15; 3.24; 4.34; 5.15; 6.21; 7.8,19; 9.26; 11.2; 26.8; 1 Sam 5.6,7,9,11; 6.3,9; 7.13; Ps 44.2,3b; 98.1; 136.12; 138.7; Is 11.15; 14.26,27; 19.16; 23.11; 31.3; Jer 21.5; 51.25; Ezk 20.5-6,33f, cf v28; 25.7,13,16; 35.3; 36.7; Zeph 2.13; cf Josh 4.24.
 For references to Yahweh's arm, note:
 Ex 6.6; 15.16; Dt 4.34; 5.15; 7.19; 9.29; 11.2; 26.8; 2 K 17.36; Ps 44.3b; 89.10; 98.1; 136.12; Is 30.30; 51.9; 52.10; Jer 21.5; Ezk 20.33,34.
- (289) Is 31.8; 34.5,6; 66.16; Jer 12.12; 14.12; 24.10; 25.16,27,29; 29.17,18; 47.6; 50.35ff; Ezk 5.17; 6.3; 14.17; 21.5,9,11,15; 29.8; 30.4; 32.10; Am 9.1; Zeph 2.12.
- (290) Is 51.19; Jer 11.22; 14.12b,15b,16,18; 15.2; 16.4; 18.21; 21.6,9; 24.10; 27.8,13; 29.17,18; 32.24,36; 34.12; 38.2; 42.16,17,22; 44.12,13,18,27; Ezk 5.12,16f; 6.11,12; 7.15; 14.13,19,21; 28.23; 33.27; 38.22; Am 4.10; Hab 3.5.
 Significantly, famine and pestilence are often associated with the "sword" motif.
- (291) Is 13.4; Jer 50.9; Joel 4.2,9,11,12,14; Mic 4.11; Zeph 3.8; Zech 14.2.
- (292) Jer 21.13; 23.30,31 (reference, prophets); 50.31; 51.25; Ezk 5.8 (Jerusalem); 13.8 (prophets); 21.3 (Israel); 26.3; 28.22; 29.3,10; 30.22; 35.3; 38.3; 39.1; (cf 34.10 "shepherds"); Nah 2.14; 3.5.
- (293) R. de Vaux, Biblica 40 1959 p 508.

- (294) See especially, G.H. Jones, op.cit. pp 114ff.
- (295) "no remnant": Jer 11.22f ; 42.17; 44.13f ; note also: Dt 3.3; Josh 8.22b; 10.30; 11.8; Ju 20.42-48; Ezr 9.14b .
- "no escape" : Jer 42.17; 44.14; 46.5-6; note also: Josh 8.22b; Ju 3.29; 2 Chr 20.24; Ezr 9.14b .
- "unsuccessful flight": Is 13.14f ; 22.1-3; 24.17f ; Jer 42.16; 46.5-6; 48.43f, 45f ; 49.5, 24a; Am 2.14ff .
- (296) "no-one will dwell there": Is 13.20; Jer 4.29; 29.32; 44.2; 48.9; 49.18, 33; 50.3, 40; 51.43 .
- "no-one passes by": Is 34.10; Jer 9.10.12; 51.43; Ezk 14.15b; 29.11; 33.28b; Zeph 3.6; Zech 7.14 .
- "without man or beast": Jer 32.43; 33.10, 12; 36.29b; 50.3b; 51.62; Ezk 14.13b, 17b, 19b, 21b; 25.13; 29.8; Zeph 1.3a .
- "without inhabitant": Is 5.9; 6.11; Jer 2.15; 4.7; 9.11; 26.9; 33.10; 34.22; 44.22; 46.19; 51.29, 37; Zeph 2.5; 3.6 .
- "will not (or, never) be inhabited": Is 13.20; Jer 6.8; 22.6; 50.13, 39; Ezk 26.19, 20; cf 29.11; Zech 9.5 .
- "inhabited by wild creatures": Is 13.21, 22; 34.11, 13; Jer 9.11; 10.22; 49.33; 50.39; 51.37; Nah 2.11; Mal 1.3 .
- (297) "bodies not buried": Jer 3.2b; 14.16; 16.4, 6; 25.33b .
- "as dung on the earth": Ps 83.11 (EVV 10); Jer 3.2b; 9.22; 16.4; 25.33b; Zeph 1.17b .
- "food for fowls of heaven and beasts of the earth": Jer 7.33; 16.4b; 19.7b; 34.20; Ezk 29.5; 33.27; 34.5, 8; Hos 2.12 .
- (298) Dt 28.37; 1 K 9.7b = 2 Chr 7.20b; cf 2 Chr 29.8b; Ps 44.13, 14a; Jer 24.9; 25.9b, 11, 18b; 26.6; 29.18b; 42.18b; 44.8b, 12b; 49.13; 51.37, 41; Ezk 5.14, 15; 22.4a; cf also Mic 2.4; Hab 2.6 .
- (299) 1 K 9.8 = 2 Chr 7.21; 2 K 21.12; 2 Chr 29.8b; Ps 44.14b; Jer 18.16; 19.3b, 8; 25.9b, 11, 18; 29.18b; 44.22b; 49.17; 50.13; 51.37, 41b; Lam 2.15; Ezk 26.16b; 27.35a, 36; 28.19; 32.10; Mic 6.16b; Zeph 2.15b .
- (300) Note especially, G. von Rad, JJS 4 1959 pp 97-108; for criticism of von Rad's views, cf M. Weiss, HUCA 37 1966 pp 29ff; G.H. Jones, op.cit. pp 239-257, in the main supports von Rad; cf also B.B. Margulis, op.cit. pp 43-68.
- (301) For the phrase "Day of Yahweh", note:
Is 2.12; 13.6, 9; Jer 46.10; Ezk 13.5; 30.3; Joel 1.15; 2.1, 11; 3.4 (EVV 2.31); 4.14 (EVV 3.14); Am 5.18, 20; Obad 15; Zeph 1.7, 14; Zech 14.1; Mal 3.23 (EVV 4.5).
- In addition, related terms are used to denote the concept, note especially, "the Day":
Is 10.3; 13.13; 22.5; 34.8; Jer 30.7; 46.21; 47.4; 49.26; 50.27, 31; Ezk 7.7, 10, 19; 30.2, 3, 9; 38.19; 39.8, 11; Lam 1.12; 2.1, 21, 22; Joel 1.15; 2.2; Am 3.14; 8.9; Hab 3.16; Zeph 1.8, 9, 10, 15, 16, 18; 2.2, 3; 3.8, 11, 16; Obad 8; Zech 12.3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11; 13.1, 2; 14.6, 8, 9, 13, 20; Mal 3.19, 21 (EVV 4.1, 3).
- Note also the term **נֶאֱמָר**, "time":
Ju 10.14; Neh 9.27; Is 13.22; 33.2; Jer 2.27, 28; 6.15b; 8.12; 10.15; 11.12 cf v14; 14.8; 15.11; 18.23; 30.7; 46.21; 49.8; 50.27; 51.6, 18; Ezk 7.7, 12; 22.3; 30.3; 35.5; Am 5.13 .

(302)

For the relation of Day of Yahweh and the OAN tradition, see B.B. Margulis, op.cit. pp 43ff.

(303)

Von Rad's view is that the Day of Yahweh concept originates entirely in the ancient holy war tradition, JSS 4 1959 pp 97-108. Margulis considers that the theophany imagery in the Day of Yahweh tradition "derives from the ancient holy war traditions involving a divine warrior motif", op.cit. pp 20f, cf ibid pp 53-57.

Margulis further suggests that the views of Gressmann (that the Day of Yahweh is a central concept in popular eschatology of the 9th Cent., especially among court prophets), Mowinkel (that the Day of Yahweh is a cultic designation of the divine enthronement), and von Rad (that the Day of Yahweh is part of a complex of ideas constituting the ancient holy war tradition), are "less mutually exclusive than appears at first sight", op.cit. p 60. Margulis' compromise solution is that "the Day of Yahweh concept has its literary origin in the holy war tradition. With the rise of the monarchy this tradition becomes part of a 'royal cult' preserved by prophetic circles employed at the court and active in the cult", ibid pp 65-66.

For the Day of Yahweh as a war concept, cf G.H. Jones, op.cit. pp 241-244, 249 n36, 255.

Jones also discusses the relation of the Day of Yahweh to theophany, and concludes that the Day of Yahweh concept is based on a combination of two distinct traditions, namely, the ancient war traditions and the theophany (cosmic disturbance) descriptions, ibid pp 250-254, 355f. It might be suggested, however, that the warrior-theophany descriptions are already an intrinsic element in the ancient war tradition; the distinction made by Jones should not therefore be overemphasised.

(304)

Day of Yahweh passages and related contexts provide ample evidence of characteristic holy war motifs and imagery:

warrior theophany: Is 2.19b, 21b; 13.3-5; Joel 2.11; 4.16 (EVV 3.16); Zech 14.3-4, 5b;

use and disruption

of nature: Is 2.19b, 21b; 13.10, 13; 34.4, 9-10a; Ezk 13.11; 38.19b-20, 22; Joel 2.10; 3.3f (EVV 2.30f); 3(H4).15, 16;

darkness motif: Am 5.18, 20; 8.9; Ezk 30.3, 18; Joel 2.2a, 10b; 3.4 (EVV 2.31); 4.15 (EVV 3.15); Zeph 1.15b;

cosmic chaos battle: Is 27.1;

panic motif: Dt 32.25; Is 13.8; Jer 46.5b; cf 49.5a, 29b; Ezk 30.13b;

herem : Is 34.2; Mal 3.24 (EVV 4.6);

sanctified warriors: Is 13.3a ($\text{D}'\psi\tau\tau\lambda$);

battle imagery: Ezk 7.14; 13.5b; Joel 2.1a, 11; Zeph 1.16; Zech 14.1-3; cf also: Jer 49.2; 50.22.

(305)

G. von Rad, JSS 4 1959 p 104.

(306)

Note the specific characterisation of the Day of Yahweh as a day of: vengeance, Is 34.8; 61.2; 63.4; Jer 46.10a;

punishment/visitation, Is 10.3;

anger, Is 13.13b; Lam 1.12; 2.1, 21, 22; Ezk 7.19; Zeph 1.15, 18; 2.2, 3.

Note also the following in related passages:

vengeance, Jer 50.27f, 31;

/punishment

punishment/visitation, Is 13.11; Jer 46.25; 50.27,31; Am 3.14;
Mic 7.4; Zeph 1.8,9,12;

anger, Is 10.5; 13.9; 34.2; Ezk 7.3,8,12,14; Zeph 3.8;

judgment, cf Jer 51.47,52; Joel 4.12,1 (EJV 3.12,14).

(307) G. von Rad, JSS 4 1959 pp 107(foot)-108.

(308) That the construction **יָהוָה** may be more than a general temporal statement is pointed out by S.J. de Vries, who sees the expression as an important structural element in the holy war narratives -- Vries, Temporal terms as structural elements in the holy war tradition, VT 25 1975 pp 80-105.

(309) Thus, 1 Sam 11.13b: ".... to-day Yahweh has wrought deliverance in Israel".

Note also: Ex 12.17a; 13.3,4; 14.30a; Nu 3.13; 8.17; Josh 3.7; 4.14; 10.12; Ju 3.30; 4.23; 5.1; 10.15; 1 Sam 3.12; 7.10b; 8.8a; 12.18; 14.23; 2 Sam 22.1; 23.10b.

(310) G. von Rad pertinently remarks: "Isaiah links up with the sacral wars of the past in order to awaken in his listeners the relevant concepts for the future", JSS 4 1959 pp 106(foot)-107.

(311) Is 13.6; cf Ezk 7.7; Ezk 30.3; Joel 1.15; 2.1; 4.14 (EJV 3.14); Obad 15 a; Zeph 1.7,14; cf also: Dt 32.35; Jer 48.16.

(312) Is 2.12; Joel 1.15; 2.1; Am 5.16-20; Zeph 1.7,14.

(313) Is 3.18; 10.3; 13.13; 19.16; 27.1; 34.8; 63.4; Jer 30.7; 47.4; 49.22,26; 50.27,31; Ezk 7.7,10,12,19; 38.19; 39.8,11; Am 3.14-15; 8.1-3,7-10; Obad 8; Zeph 1; 2.1-3.

(314) Is 13.2-16; cf 34.1-4; Ezk 30.2-3; Joel 1.15-18,19-20; 2.1-11; 3.3f (EJV 2.30f); 4.2f,9-16 (EJV 3.2-3,9-16); Obad 15a; Zeph 1.14-18; 3.8; Zech 12.2-4,6,9; 14.1-7,12-15; Mal 3.19 (EJV 4.1).

(315) **יָהוָה**: Dan 8.19; 11.27,29,35; note the use of the term in the Day of Yahweh passage, Jer 46.17, and in the Exodus tradition, Ex 9.5 where it is related to the term **יָהוָה** (vide supra p 57).

יָהוָה: Dan 8.17,19; 11.27,35,40; 12.4,6,9,13; note the use in Jer 51.13; Lam 4.18; Ezk 7.2,3,6; and the pun in Am 8.2 (**יָהוָה**).

Note also the eschatological use of both terms in Hab 2.3.

(316) Anger: Is 13.9,13; 30.27,30; 34.2; 63.3,6; 66.15; Jer 10.10; 25.15; 50.13; 51.45; Ezk 21.31; 25.14; 30.15; 38.18,19; Mic 5.15; Nah 1.2,6; Hab 3.8,12; Zeph 3.8; cf: Ps 7.6; 21.9; 59.13; 69.24; 78.49-50; 79.6; 110.5; note also: Ex 15.7; 1 Sam 28.18.

For Yahweh's anger against Israel/Judah:

Is 1.4; 9.12,19,21; 10.5-6; Jer 18.20,23; 21.5; 23.19-20; 25.37; 30.23f; 32.37a; 36.7b; 42.18; Ezk 5.13,15; 7.3,8,12,14,19; 13.13,15; 22.22,31a; 43.8; Dan 9.16; cf 11.36; Hos 5.10; Zeph 1.15,18; 2.2,3; Zech 7.12; 10.3; cf: Ps 74.1; 78.31; 95.11; 106.40; note also: Dt 29.23f,27f; 2 Chr 24.18.

Vengeance: Is 34.8; 35.4; 47.3; 59.18; 63.4; 66.6; Jer 46.10; 50.15,28; 51.6,11,36,56; Ezk 25.14,17; Mic 5.15; Nah 1.2;

/cf:

cf: Ps 94.1; 149.7; note also: Dt 32.35, 41, 43; Ju 11.36b.

For Yahweh's vengeance upon Israel/Judah:

Ezk 9.10; 24.8; Hos 9.7; cf Jer 11.20; 20.12;
cf Ps 99.8.

Judgment: Is 34.5; Jer 51.47, 52; Ezk 25.11; 28.22, 26; 30.14, 19;
39.21; Joel 4.12, 14 (EVV 3.12, 14); Hab 1.12;
cf: Ps 9.16, 19; 149.9.

For Yahweh's judgment upon Israel/Judah:

Jer 1.16; Ezk 5.8, 10, 15; 11.9; Hos 5.11; 10.4.

For the metaphorical use of the "fire" motif, note references to
"the fire of Yahweh's anger":

Dt 32.22; Ps 21.9; Is 30.27; 66.15b; Jer 15.14; 21.12; Lam 2.4b;
Ezk 21.31f; 22.21f, 31; 38.19; Nah 1.6; cf Zeph 1.18; 3.8.

Note also, G.H. Jones, op.cit. pp 165-170.

- (317) Is 13.11; Jer 2.19; 6.19; 11.11; 13.22; 16.10; 18.15ff; 19.3; 21.14;
24.8-10; 32.30ff; 44.2-6, 11-14, 21-23; 46.25; Ezk 7.3, 8; 14.13;
39.23; Dan 9.7b, 8, 11, 16; Hos 5.5; 8.13b; Zeph 1.8, 9, 12.

The punishment motif is also applied to traditional aspects of
Israel's earlier history:

the extinction of the wilderness generation:

Nu 14.22f, 27-30, 32-35; 32.10f, 13; Dt 1.34f;

punishment for idolatry and covenant-breaking:

Dt 4.25-28; 31.16ff, 29; Josh 23.15f; 1 K 9.6-9 (= 2 Chr 7.19-22);
11.11; 14.22-26; 15.25-30; 2 K 13.2f; 15.18f; 18.11f; 23.32f;
23.37 - 24.4; 24.9-11; 2 Chr 28.2-5; 29.6-10; 33.2-11; 36.5f,
14-17; Ezr 9.13f; Neh 9.26-37; 13.18;

the stereotyped presentation of the wars of the Judges:

Ju 2.11-15; 3.5-8, 12-14; 4.1-3; 6.1-6; 10.6-9; 13.1;

early prophetic tradition:

1 K 14.9-11, 15f; 21.20-24; 2 K 21.10-16; 22.16f (= 2 Chr 34.24f);
2 Chr 28.9.

- (318) Jer 30.11; 46.28b; Dan 11.35; 12.10a; Hab 1.12.

For the testing motif in the wilderness and Sinai traditions, cf:

Ex 15.25b; 16.4b; 20.20; Dt 8.2, 16; Ps 81.7b;

and in the Conquest tradition, cf: Ju 2.20-23; 3.1, 4.

Note also the motif of refining and testing metal: Ps 66.10; Is 1.25;
48.10; Jer 9.7; Ezk 22.18-22; Zech 13.9; Mal 3.2, 3;

and the specific references, "the furnace of affliction", Is 48.10,
and "iron furnace", Dt 4.20; 1 K 8.51; Jer 11.4.

- (319) Characterisation of the enemy as

wicked: Is 13.11; 14.5; Jer 51.24; Ezk 28.15f, 18; 31.11;

Joel 4.13 (EVV 3.13); Am 1.3, 6, 9, 11, 13; 2.1;

cf: Ps 5.9, 10; 9.5, 17; 17.9; 27.2; 59.2, 5; 64.2; 68.2; 74.3;
92.9, 11; 94.3, 4; 139.19f; note also: Ex 9.27; Dt 9.4, 5;

proud and arrogant: Is 2.12; 13.11; 14.11, 12ff; 16.6; Jer 48.29; 49.16;
50.31f; Ezk 27.3; 28.2, 6, 9, 17; 29.3, 9; 30.6, 18;
31.10; 32.12; Obad 3, 4; Zeph 2.10, 15; Zech 9.6; 10.11;
cf: Ps 18.27; 10.2; 17.10; 59.12; 94.2, 4;

/boastful

boastful, blasphemous, rebellious:

2 K 19.4,16,22,23(=Is 37. 4,17,23,24); Is 52.5; Jer 48.26,42;
50.24,29;
cf: Ps 5.10; 74.10,18; 79.12; 83.2,5,12; 94.4; 97.7.

- (320) Note, G.H. Jones, op.cit. pp 147-164; B.B. Margulis, op.cit. pp 238-241,262,342.
- (321) Von Rad notes specifically that although victory is ultimately due solely to Yahweh, human activity in battle is not thereby excluded, Der heilige Krieg, pp 12(foot)-13; similarly, P.D. Miller considers holy war to be a fusion of divine and human activities, op.cit. p 156.
- (322) Cf G. von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 7; P.D. Miller, op.cit. p 159. Note also the designation of the people's militia as "all Israel", vide supra pp 66, 67.
- (323) Ex 17.10,13; Nu 21.24f ; 31.7-8; (cf 13.30); Dt 1.41; 29.7-8; Josh 7.3ff; 8.19-26; 10.28,33-41; 11.10ff,14,17f ,20f ; 12.1,6,7; 13.21; 19.47; Ju 1.8-13,17f.
- (324) Yahweh delivers - Israel destroys: Nu 21.2-3; Dt 2.33f (cf v24); 3.3-6; 7.2,16a,24; 20.13,16f ; Josh 10.30,32; 11.8; Ju 1.4-5;
Yahweh delivers - Israel drives out: Ex 23.31b (LXX: Y* drives out); Yahweh drives out - Israel destroys: Dt 7.22; cf 33.27;
Yahweh is present - Israel drives out: Josh 14.12; Ju 1.19;
Yahweh goes before (& destroys) - Israel drives out & destroys: Dt 9.3; note also, human action after Yahweh's panic, cf Dt 7.20,23, and miracle, Josh 6.20f .
- (325) Ex 23.31(MT); Nu 33.52a; Dt 9.3; Josh 14.12; 17.18; a number of references indicate human failure to drive out the indigenous population: Josh 15.63; 16.10; 17.12,13; Ju 1.21,27-33.
- (326) **יָלָח**, Nu 31.5 cf v3; 32 20.21,27,29,30,32 cf v17; Dt 3.18; Josh 4.13; cf 6.7,9,13; note also: 1 Chr 23.24; 2 Chr 17.18; 28.14;
חָנָה, Ex 13.18; Josh 1.14; 4.12.
For the terminology of military mobilisation (especially in the census lists of Nu 1; 26), see G.E. Mendenhall, JBL 77 1958 pp 53-66; E.A. Speiser, BASOR 149 1958 pp 17-25.
- (327) The (human) destruction of the enemy, and especially the command to destroy, may be taken as equivalent to the carrying out of herem, cf: Dt 7.24; Josh 7.12; 9.24; 11.14,20.
- (328) a) human fighting: Ju 3.15-22,31; 8.11f ; 9.43ff,49,52; 12.4-6; 14.19 15.8,14-17; 20.20f ,24f ,31-34,36-48;
b) human fighting following divine initiative:
Ju 3.28-30; 4.15f ,23f ; 6.16; 7.19-25; 11.21.32f ; 20.35.
- (329) a) human fighting:
1 Sam 4.3,10; 11.11; 13.3a; 14.31,47,48; 15.7-8; 17.52; 18.6-7; 19.8; 21.11; 30.17; 31.1-3(=1 Chr 10.1-3); 2 Sam 8.1-5(cf 1 Chr 18.1-5); 10.13,17f (cf 1 Chr 19.14,17f); 12.26,29(cf 1 Chr 20.1 21.15; 21.18-22(cf 1 Chr 20.4-7); 1 K 22.29-35(cf 2 Chr 18.28-34

2 K 3.24; 8.21 (cf 2 Chr 21.9); 14.7 (cf 2 Chr 25.11); .

b) human fighting following divine initiative:

1 Sam 7.10f; 14.6b,10,12b-15; 17.46a; 23.4f; 2 Sam 5.19f,24f (cf 1 Chr 14.10f,15f); 22.35-41 (=Ps 18); 23.8-12 (cf 1 Chr 11.11-14); 1 K 20.13,20f,28f;

c) exclusion of human action: 2 K 19.35 (=Is 37.36; cf 2 Chr 32.21).

(330) M. Weinfeld, *op.cit.* pp 46-48.

(331) Ex 14.13f,27f,30; 15.1b,4-8,10,12,19,21 .

Cf G. von Rad, *OT Theology* vol 1 pp 175f; *ibid* pp 12f,121f,281f.

(332) a) human fighting: 2 Chr 26.6; 27.5a; 36.20,22f;

b) human fighting following divine initiative: 2 Chr 13.14-17; 14.8-15.

(333) Additional passages in Psalms may be noted.

In connection with warrior dedication, cf Ps 110.3 :

Thy people offered themselves willingly in the day of Thy power.

Note also the reference to the death of His saints, Ps 116.15 , and the phrase "teach my hands to war", Ps 144.1 (cf 149.6f).

Note the recurring phrase "... in the name of Yahweh I will destroy them", Ps 118.10,11,12 .

(334) G. von Rad, *Der heilige Krieg*, pp 83f; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, pp 265f .

(335) Cf P.R. Davies, *JTS* 23 1972 pp 117ff.

(336) For Solomon's Temple as a place of prayer and supplication, note 1 K 8.30,33f,37b,44f .

(337) Had it not been for the centrality of the Jerusalem Temple as the place of sacrificial worship, the Maccabees might well have offered sacrifice at Mizpah.

(338) Temple worship was disrupted by the prohibition of burnt-offerings, sacrifices and libations (1 M 1.45) as well as by various overt acts which defiled the sanctuary (1 M 1.21-24,46,54,59; 2 M 3.14; 5.15f,21; 6.2-5 .

(339) Similar rites are however indicated in the description by Jeremiah (Jer 41.5) of pilgrims from Shechem, Shiloh and Samaria who are treacherously slain at Mizpah by Ishmael ben Nethaniah. These men have their beards shaved, their clothes rent, and are described as beating (or, cutting) themselves (and, according to LXX, weeping). Furthermore, they are bringing offerings and incense to the "house of God". Most commentators assume that the "house of God" is the Jerusalem Temple. This would mean that the Temple still functioned as a cult centre during the exilic period (cf Peake 468(f)). In view, however, of Davies' discussion of the "house of God" as a sanctuary at Mizpah (*JTS* 23 1972 pp 118-120), we make the tentative suggestion that these pilgrims from the north were coming to worship at Mizpah the temporary centre of national life. In which case, the signs of ritual lament which they displayed might well betoken their grief over the Temple.

(340) Note especially in the context of war or the threat of war:

Nu 14.6; Josh 7.6; 2 K 18.37; 19.1,2 (=Is 37.1); cf Esth 4.1,3 .

- (341) Cf 2 M 5.17-20; 6.12-16; 7.18,32f; and the implication of 1 M 1.64; 2 M 7.38. (vide supra p 109).
- (342) According to Nu 31.6, Phinehas takes "holy vessels" to battle.
- (343) F.-M. Abel, Les Livres de Maccabées, 1949, p 70 on verse 49.
- (344) 1 M 1.56f; cf Abel, op.cit. p 26 on verse 57.
- (345) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. p 64.

In his comparison of the details of the Mizpah ritual with the war ordinances of 1 QM, Osten-Sacken (ibid) considers that the Maccabaeen prayer and fasting ritual, the unrolling of the scroll of the Law, and the presentation of priestly vestments and of offerings "do not take up any ordinances from the holy war tradition, but are the answer to a once-only situation, the desecration of the Temple".

Against this, it seems clear that in the pre-battle situation at Mizpah the basic concepts of the ancient holy war tradition are deliberately revived and necessarily adapted to the circumstances of the Maccabaeen crisis. (For discussion, vide supra pp 225f).

- (346) F.-M. Abel, op.cit. p 69.

- (347) The verb **ἐκτείνωμι**, "spread out", "extend", translates the Hebrew **וַיִּשְׂט**, especially with reference to stretching out the hands (cf LXX Ex 9.29; Ezr 9.5; Is 65.2; Lam 1.10), or spreading a net (cf LXX Ezk 12.13; 17.20; 19.8). (More frequently, the verb **διεκτείνωμι** is used).

For the verb **וַיִּשְׂט** with reference to unrolling a scroll, however, (2 K 19.14 = Is 37.14; Ezk 2.10) the Septuagint does not use **ἐκτείνωμι**. In one passage, 2 K 19.14, a synonym **ἀνέπτυσσω** is used.

The verb **ἐξερευνάω** means "search out", "examine". P.R. Davies (JTS 23 1972 p 120) suggests that the original Hebrew term may have been **שָׁאַף**, "enquire", "seek oracular advice". It must be noted, however, that the Septuagint consistently translates **שָׁאַף** by **ἐρωτάω**, or **ἐπερωτάω**. On the other hand, **ἐξερευνάω** is properly used by the Septuagint to translate the Hebrew **וַיִּשְׁקֹף**, "search": 1 Sam 23.23 (LXX 1 K); Ps 64.7 (LXX 63.6); Prov 2.4b; Lam 3.40; Am 9.3; Obad 6; Zeph 1.12.

For the similar use of **ἐρευνάω**, note: Gen 31.35; 44.12; 1 K 20.6 (Lxx 3 K 21.6); 2 K 10.23 (LXX 4 K); Prov 20.27.

Note also the rendering of the Hebrew **וַיִּשְׁקֹף** by the same Greek verbs in 2 Sam 10.3 (LXX 2 K); 1 Chr 19.3.

In two instances, Ps 119.69,115 (LXX Ps 118), the Septuagint interprets the Hebrew **וַיִּשְׁמֹר** ("keep", "preserve") as **ἐξερευνάω**, giving the sense of "searching" (the commandments).

The Greek of 1 M 3.48, therefore, may well represent an accurate description of what did in fact take place at Mizpah, namely, the searching of Scripture for divine guidance and assurance.

In the New Testament, we find explicit reference to "searching the Scriptures" in Jn 5.39 (using **ἐρευνάω**, the later form of the verb).

Noteworthy also are the references in 1 Peter 1.10,11a in connection with the activity of the classical prophets. (Cf G. Kittel, Theol. Dictionary of the NT, vol 2 1964 pp 655ff: **ἐρευνάω**).

ὁμοίωμα, "likeness", "representation", is the Septuagint

equivalent of the Hebrew הַיִּדֹּאֲלִים ; Ex 20.4; Dt 4.16,23,25; 5.8;
and הַיִּדֹּאֲלִים ; Dt 4.16,17,18.

Examination of the use of εἰδωλον , "image", "god", in the Septuagint shows that the Greek term has a wide application in respect of various cult (divinatory) objects:

דִּשְׁלֵשׁ , idols ("vain things") : Ps 97.7 (LXX 96.7); Hab 2.18;
 דִּשְׁלֵשׁ , idols : 2 K 23.24 (LXX 4 K);
 דִּשְׁלֵשׁ , idol ("shadow") : Is 48.5; Mic 1.7;
 סֹפֶד : סֹפֶד , carved image : Ex 20.4; Dt 5.8; 2 Chr 33.22;
34.7; Is 30.22;
 דִּשְׁלֵשׁ , image, representation : Nu 33.52; 2 Chr 23.17;
 דִּשְׁלֵשׁ , idols, figures : Gen 31.19,34,35.

For Abel's explanation of the elliptical construction :
 $\text{περὶ (τούτων περὶ) ὧν}$, vide Abel, op.cit. pp 69foot-70.

(348) F.-M. Abel, op.cit. p 70.

(349) For pagan use of images, note Ezk 21.26 (EVV 21) — the King of Babylon makes oracular enquiry by consulting (שָׁחַף , LXX ἐπερωτάω) teraphim images (LXX γλυπτὰ).

The extensive and informative articles in Pauly-Wissowa give no indication of the use of images per se in Greek and Roman oracular practice (Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, "Orakel", vol 18(1); "Losung", vol 13(2)).

On the other hand, D.M.G. Stalker (Peake 195c, on Ex 22.8) quotes C.H. Gordon (Biblical Customs and the Nuzu Tablets, BA 3 1940 p 11) to the effect that in Nuzu "divine images were used in deciding cases where contradictory claims led to deadlock.... The ordeal oath before the gods is a common feature of the Nuzu trials".

(350) The clearest indication of the method of casting lots is found in 1 Sam 14.41f. Verse 41b (reading with LXX) may be understood:

".... if the iniquity be in me or in my son Jonathan, then, Yahweh, God of Israel, give Urim; but if it be in thy people Israel, then give Thummim".

(Thus, Oesterley & Robinson, Hebrew Religion (reprint) 1952, p 103 n1; cf also H.W. Hertzberg, OT Library, I & II Samuel, p 111 note a.)

According to Pauly-Wissowa (op.cit. vol 18(1) "Orakel", p 884, col b lines 34-43), at the Temple of Fortuna Praenesta the sortes were in the form of pieces of wood bearing characters or inscriptions, and were contained in a box. A boy shuffled the pieces and selected one for the enquirer — the inscription was deemed to be the answer to the query. (Suet. T.b.631; Cic. div. II 58f).

H. Ringgren, op.cit. p 206, suggests that the first and last letters of the Hebrew alphabet were inscribed on the sacred lots, and that the words Urim and Thummim were later interpretations of the characters.

Of greater interest for the understanding of the procedure described in 1 M 3.48 is the statement in Pauly-Wissowa that the early Christians took over the "lot" as a means of telling the future from the Bible (op.cit. vol 13(2) "Losung", p 1461 col a, lines 42-44).

/Such

Such a combination of lot manipulation and (random) selection of a scriptural passage may well be a link with the Maccabaeian practice.

- (351) Vide supra pp 18-19 and note (85).

F.-M. Abel notes succinctly that the role of mediator is no longer held by a prophet but by the scroll of the Law (op.cit. p 70, on 1 M 3.48).

- (352) Note in a war context, 1 Sam 7.3-4 : prior to the general assembly at Mizpah, Samuel insists that a return to Yahweh is necessary if the Israelites are to be delivered from the Philistines.

For the public reading of treaty documents, cf E.W. Nicholson, Deuteronomy and Tradition, 1967 pp 43f.

- (353) For Eleazar, vide Abel, op.cit. p 391 ad loc.

- (354) The recall of Yahweh's saving acts was a significant part of covenant-renewal : Ex 19.4; 20.2; Jos 23.3-10; 24.2-13,17f; cf Dt 5.6,15; 6.20-25.

Note also E.W. Nicholson's reference to the function of the prophet as covenant mediator, op.cit. pp 77ff.

Events of the Heilsgeschichte were recited in various cultic connections : Ps105 (for the purpose of thanksgiving); Ps 106 (for the purpose of confession). At Mizpah, on the occasion of the election of Saul as king, Samuel makes a brief reference to the Heilsgeschichte, 1 Sam 10.18. In Dt 26.5-9 Heilsgeschichte is associated with the ritual presentation of firstfruits - would the faithful Jews in the Maccabaeian period presents their firstfruits (1 M 3.49) at Mizpah without reference to the customary rubric of the Law ?

- (355) For the "covenant with the ancestors", cf: Lev 26.45; Dt 4.31; 8.18; Ju 2.20; 1 K 8.21; 2 K 17.15; Jer 11.10; 31.32; 34.13; Mal 2.10.

For the concept of God remembering His covenant, cf: Gen 9.15,16; Ex 2.24; 6.5; Lev 26.42,45; Ps 105.8; 106.45; Ezk 16.60.

The post-exilic Psalm 106 (vv 6-48) may be mentioned as illustrating motifs which recur in the Maccabaeian narratives. As noted, the Psalm employs Heilsgeschichte for the purpose of confession (cf Neh 9.5-37). There is an appeal for divine help (vv 4-5) and a prayer for divine help (v 47). More important are the references to the crossing of the Sea (vv 7-11; cf 1 M 4.9), to Phinehas (v 30; cf 1 M 2.26,54), and to heathen idols as a "snare" (v 36; cf 1 M 14.36; vide supra pp 123f.

- (356) G. von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 84.

- (357) 1 M 3.21 ".... we are fighting for our lives and our religion".

3.43 "Let us restore the shattered fortunes of our nation; let us fight for our nation and for the holy place".

3.58f "Prepare for action and show yourselves men.... Better die fighting than look on while calamity overwhelms our people and the holy place".

4.18 "Stand firm now against our enemies and fight..." cf v 35.

5.32 "Now is the time to fight for our brethren".

9.8 "Let us move to the attack and see if we can defeat them..."

9.10 "Heaven forbid that I should do such a thing as run away. If our time has come, let us die bravely for our fellow-countrymen and leave no stain on our honour".

9.44 "Now is the time to fight for our lives...."

13.3-7 Simon's assessment of the deeds of the Hasmonaeans.
cf 1.64 ".... draw your strength and courage from the Law,
for by it you will win great glory".

Note, however, the similar sentiments expressed in 2 Sam 10.12 = 1 Chr 19.13; Neh 4.8(EVV 14); and compare 2 Sam 10.12b ("...and Yahweh do what seems good to him") with 1 M 3.60 ("But it will be as Heaven wills").

- (358) F.-M. Abel, op.cit. Introd. p xxi. Abel notes, however, that the glory motif "may be regarded as a Greek infiltration into the author's environment", ibid Introd. p xxv(foot).
- (359) F.-M. Abel, op.cit. Introd. p xxvii; for a similar list of letters in Second Maccabees, see Abel, ibid Introd. pp xli - xlii .
- (360) F.-M. Abel, op.cit. Introd xxiv(foot)-xxv; C.C. Torrey, Encyclopedia Biblica (Cheyne) 1910, vol 3 cols. 2865f.
- (361) For the origin and development of the war speech in the OT tradition, vide supra pp 19-20 and especially notes (95) & (96).
- (362) The atatement may be compared with the recurrent OT phrase "that all (OR, you) may know there is a God in Israel"; vide supra note (287).
- (363) For the concept of divine panic, vide supra pp 54-55, and for the OT terminology, note (270).
- (364) For verse 20, cf Abel, op.cit. p 390.
- (365) προσδοκῶ : for the significance of the concept "looking to Yahweh", see von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, pp 58foot-60; cf supra p 20 & note (106).
- (366) Cf Dt 7.2,5,16,24-26; 9.3b; 20.16-18 .
For the Deuteronomist, a pronounced military theology (embracing aspects of the ancient holy war tradition) is taken up into the ideological struggle against pagan religion; cf von Rad, OT Library Deuteronomy, p 133; G. H. Davies, in Peake 235b .
- (367) G. von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 84.
- (368) P.R. Davies, 1 QM, the War Scroll from Qumran, its Structure and History, 1977, pp 61,63.
- (369) The first action of Mattathias and his sons after the initial act of revolt is to flee to the hills (1 M 2.28). Note also the precipitate flight of Judas according to 2 M 5.27.
- (370) Cf P.R. Davies, op.cit. pp 62,63; W.O.E. Oesterley, History of Israel (1948 ed.) vol 2 pp 229f.
Note the implication of the challenge of Apollonius to the Jews to come down from the hills and fight a pitched battle on the plain (1 M 10.70f).

A possible revival of the ancient tactical device of deploying the army in three columns (cf supra p 23) is evident in 1 M 5.33 .

The situation recorded in 1 M 7.43-46 resembles the tactic of engaging and disrupting the enemy's line with a relatively small force, then bringing in the main body of the army to pursue and

rout the enemy. (vide supra p 23).

Some evidence of ambush tactics is found in 1 M 9.40; 10.79f; 11.68f. (vide supra p 23).

For general surprise attack, cf: 1 M 5.28,43; 2 M 8.6f; 13.15ff.

- (371) P.R. Davies, op.cit. p 61 (cf JTS 23 1972 p 121).
- (372) F.-M. Abel, op.cit. p 57.
- (373) M. Noth, OT Library Exodus, 1962 p 150.
- (374) F.-M. Abel, op.cit. p 71.
- (375) Abel in fact suggests this, op.cit. p 71. Osten-Sacken, op.cit. p 218, notes briefly that Judas thus formed his army in line with the Old Testament. Cf Yadin, The Art of Warfare, p 59.
- (376) G. von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 6.
- (377) M. Weippert, ZAW 84, 1972 p 486.
- (378) F.-M. Abel, op.cit. p 82.
- (379) F.-M. Abel, op.cit. pp 82-83 on verse 40 (Josephus, Ant. III 12.6).
- (380) Cf F.-M. Abel, op.cit. p 143 on verse 45.
- (381) The passage 1 M 5.29-34 seems to indicate a battle signal from the defenders of a fortified position (v 11) and the reciprocal signal from the relief column led by Judas (v 33).
- (382) 1 M 3.54 : *φωνὴ μεγάλη* ; 5.31b : *κραυγὴ μεγάλη* .
The "great shout" is mentioned specifically in Josh 6.5,20 : *הִיָּוּ הַצִּלְצִלִּים* ; cf 2 Chr 20.19 : *הִיָּוּ הַצִּלְצִלִּים* .
- (383) The description of the trumpets as *סάλπιγγες τῶν σηματοσιῶν* (1 M 7.45; 4.40), is possibly indicative not only of their ancient association and origin but also of their purpose, i.e., "trumpets for sounding the battle-cry (cf supra p 28).
- (384) Cf F.-M. Abel, op.cit. p 99. For the "shout" of 1 M 3.54 as the *הִיָּו* of the Old Testament; cf Davies, op.cit. p 61.
- (385) In a similar context the writer of Second Maccabees, omitting all reference to formal regulations, simply states that cowards and those who had no faith in God's justice fled, 2 M 8.13.
- (386) I.e. in the phrases at the end of verses 5,6,7 (*לֹא יָמָוֶת* , "lest he die...."); the force of *אִם* in the last phrase of verse 8 is comparable. Cf von Rad, OT Library Deuteronomy p 132.
- (387) A reference in 2 M 12.38 to the warriors purifying themselves in order to keep the Sabbath cannot be taken as evidence of the cultic warrior state prior to battle.
- (388) From Dt 20.5-8 it is clear that the Deuteronomist does not regard these regulations in this way. His concern is mainly for the men themselves and the safeguarding of heritable property. Thus the regulations are presented in the form of "exemptions" rather than unequivocal disqualification and dismissal from military service. The distinction is not observed by Abel (op.cit. p 71 on verse 56) who translates *κατὰ τὸν νόμον* (1 M 3.56) : "as the Law permits". (cf supra pp 42-45).
- (389) Although there is no linguistic connection, we may note a similar type of pagan object in the "crescents" (*סִבְיָה*) which

Gideon removed from the necks of the Midianite chiefs' camels (Ju 8.21). According to Is 3.18, "crescents" are included in the finery of the ladies of Jerusalem which will be removed by Yahweh on His Day.

Abel compares the prohibition of Dt 7.25 (op.cit. p 444 on verse 40).

- (390) According to the law of census (Ex 30.11-16) every man has to pay a half-shekel as a ransom for his life (vv 15,16) in order to avert plague during the census (v 12); cf the five shekel ransom price for the firstborn, Nu 3.46f; 18.16.
- In the context of battle (Nu 31.48-50), the victorious warriors are counted, and the booty is offered to Yahweh as a ransom for their lives.
- (391) Cf Josh 7.1; 2 Sam 21.1; 24.10-17.
- The writer of Second Maccabees gives this sin-offering a new context and meaning by associating it with the idea of resurrection. Thus we also have the novel and incongruous concept of a vicarious sin-offering on behalf of the dead (2 M 12.45); prayer for the dead is also briefly mentioned (ibid v 44).
- (392) For the relation of these verses to the passage (Dt 20.1-9), see von Rad, OT Library Deuteronomy, p 131.
- (393) Nor does a priest have any official war function elsewhere in the Maccabaeen narratives. 1 M 5.67 refers to certain priests who met their deaths because of unwarranted entry into battle.
- (394) G. von Rad (Der heilige Krieg, p 84) asks the question but does not discuss it; nor does he mention Mattathias whose violent action at the beginning of the revolt makes him a worthy successor of the ancient Yahweh loyalists (thus explicitly, 1 M 2.26).
- (395) Cf F.-M. Abel, op.cit. p 106 on 1 M 5.61f; cf R.H. Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, vol 1 p 86.
- (396) The evidence points rather in the direction of intensification of legalistic observance.
- (397) The most positive single piece of evidence here is the deliberate choice of the former cultic site of Mizpah for the ritual preparation for battle. As noted above (p 85), presumably we are to see Mizpah as a temporary substitute for the Temple. It is also significant that the first act of Judas after the initial military successes is the purification and rededication of the Temple. Purification is carried out by priests who are ritually clean (*ἁγῶμος*), 1 M 4.42; cf 2 Chr 29.15; cf Abel op.cit. p 83.
- (398) Cf W.R. Farmer, Maccabees, Zealots and Josephus, 1956 pp 60-68.
- (399) For the distinction between the groups mentioned in 1 M 2.42-43, and with special reference to the desert fugitives, note the suggestive article by L. Rabinowitz, The First Essenes, JSS 4 1959 pp 385-361.
- Rabinowitz goes so far as to say that the martyrs of the caves were "a completely pacifist group who had no intention of fighting for their ideals" (ibid p 361). Similarly, Abel refers to them as "pacifist reactionaries" (op.cit. p 39 on 1 M 2.29).
- (400) For συναγωγή as equivalent to *הָאָסֶפֶת*, cf supra p 94foot.
- Apart from its frequent use in the Old Testament denoting the cultic assembly of all Israel, *הָאָסֶפֶת* may also apply to a smaller body of /people

people (e.g. the company of Korah, Nu 16.5 & passim; 17.3).

For the comparison of συναγωγή Ἀσιδαίων with ἐκκλησία πιστῶν (1 M 3.13), cf supra p 106.

- (401) Both propositions are maintained by V. Tcherikover, Hellenistic Civilisation and the Jews (tr. S. Applebaum), 1961 pp 197f., and by Osten-Sacken, op.cit. pp 70f.
- (402) Contrast 1 M 2.28 : Mattathias and his sons leave their belongings behind; their immediate aim is safety in flight, their ultimate purpose, guerilla warfare.
Note also the precipitate flight of Judas according to 2 M 5.27.
- (403) The passage 1 M 2.29-38 indicates the strictest observance of Sabbath requirements. The refusal to leave the caves may stem from obedience to the letter of the Sabbath law of Ex 16.29 (cf Abel, op.cit. p 41 on v 34). Thus, for the refugees, obeying the order to leave the caves would in itself have constituted a violation of Sabbath.
- (404) Details of the anti-Jewish legislation and subsequent persecution are outlined in 1 M 1.41-64. A more legendary tone inspires the history of the martyrs in 2 M 6.18 - 7.42.
- (405) V. Tcherikover, op.cit. p 198, maintains that the flight to the desert hiding-places (1 M 2.31) cannot be explained as the avoidance of a corrupt world, but as the organisation of the forces of resistance. Against this, the writer of 2 M 5.27 regards even Judas and some of his men as living in the hills "so as to have no share in the pollution". The policy of Antiochus was a deliberate one to defile and destroy everything sacred to pious Jews. It is essential to see the Maccabaeen Revolt against this background.
- (406) This decision has to be seen in the context not only of the slaughter of the innocents and the concern for the survival of the Law and the people of God, but also in the practical circumstances of the need for a reliable fighting force.
- (407) Ample evidence shows that the enemy took advantage of the Jewish Sabbath (1 M 2.32,38; 9.34,43; 2 M 5.25f; 6.11; 8.26; cf 15.1).
Assaults and sieges were timed to coincide with low food supplies during Sabbatical years (1 M 6.49,53f).
Concern for Sabbath observance leads the writer of Second Maccabees to place a somewhat exaggerated emphasis on the supposed Sabbatarianism of the Maccabaeen army. Thus it is reported that Judas and his brothers break off a successful offensive because of the Sabbath (2 M 8.25-28), and on another occasion, leave the dead unburied until the day after Sabbath (ibid 12.38f). There can be no doubt, however, that such ideas echoed the sentiments and the faith of at least part of the Maccabaeen army.
- (408) W.R. Farmer, op.cit. p 81, cf ibid p 77.
- (409) How soon the Hasidaeans form a definite party within Judaism is not easy to determine. Indeed, whether they can be regarded as a separate party or sect in the narrower sense at the time of the early Maccabaeen campaigns is open to question (cf R.T. Herford, Talmud and Apocrypha, 1933 pp 83f). It is certainly true that out of the general hasidic movement definite sects or parties arose.
W.O.E. Oosterley may not be entirely accurate in maintaining that the Hasidaeans "appear as the right wing of a definite party" at the beginning of the Maccabaeen period (History of Israel, 1948, vol 2 p 315). R.H. Pfeiffer is perhaps nearer the mark in his statement that the Hasidaeans were "the earliest group of Jewish laymen bearing

a distinctive name" (History of New Testament Times, 1949 p 53). E. Bevan sets them in their historical and spiritual perspective (Jerusalem under the High Priests, 1904 p 71).

Note also the summary account in R.H. Charles, op.cit. vol 1 p 73 (on 1 M 2.42).

Important also is the considered judgment of F.-M. Abel:

"Guerriers par intermittence, ces pacifiques réservaient leur ardeur belliqueuse surtout aux joutes casuistiques" (op.cit. p 44 on 1 M 2.42).

For a definite date, note M. Black (The Scrolls and Christian Origins, 1961 p 20): "If ca. 176 B.C. marked the emergence of the Hasidim in the sense of their organisation and consolidation under a leader, then the most likely individual to be their leader and founder is the High Priest Onias III"; cf also in Peake, 604c.

- (410) N.H. Snaith, The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament, 1950 pp 123-126; cf ibid pp 95, 98f., where **יִשְׁתָּ** is defined as faithfulness within the context of covenant.

- (411) Cf R.T. Herford, op.cit. pp 57, 80.

- (412) The writer seems to make the Old Testament phrase more specific by adding **ἀπὸ Ἰσραὴλ**; is this to denote more precisely that these were warriors of the ancient stamp?

For **ἰσχυροὶ δυνάμει** as a translation of **יְהִי בְיָדִי** note LXX 1 Chr 7.2, 5, 7, 9, 11, 40; 8.40; cf (sing.) 3 K 11.28.

The Septuagint presents several variations of the phrase:

ἰσχυρὸς τῶν δυνάμεων (1 Chr 11.26); **δυνατὸς ἐν ἰσχύϊ** (Josh 8.3; 10.7; cf: 4 K 24.14; 1 Chr 12.21, 28, 30; 2 Chr 25.6);

δυνατοὶ ἰσχύος (1 Chr 12.25); **δυνατοὶ ἰσχύοντες** (2 Chr 17.16).

- (413) Cf F.-M. Abel, op.cit. pp 43-44 on 1 M 2.42; M. Black, "Scrolls", pp 16-17.

It is significant that in the army of Mattathias only the Hasidaeans are thus designated.

- (414) It is interesting that the writer of Second Maccabees describes Judas as the leader of the Hasidaeans, thereby giving the (erroneous) impression that the whole Maccabean army is identical with the Hasidaeans (2 M 14.6; cf Abel, op.cit. p 459).

- (415) Op.cit. p 223. Tcherikover goes so far as to assert that the Hasidaeans were the real instigators and first leaders of the revolt (ibid pp 196f, 204), and that the Hasmonaean rising was a continuation of the Hasidaean revolt (ibid p 206). This cannot be directly deduced from the narratives. For First Maccabees (cf 2.24f, 40f), Mattathias, for Second Maccabees, Judas (cf 8.1), is the instigator of the revolt.

- (416) F.-M. Abel, op.cit. p 44, notes that **δύναμις** is the Septuagint translation of **יָד** (cf supra note (412)).

In the Septuagint **καθίστημι** frequently translates the Hebrew technical term **יָדָה**; note especially Dt 20.9; cf: Gen 41.43; Nu 3.10; 1 Sam 29.4 (LXX 1 K); 2 K 7.17 (LXX 4 K); Esth 2.3.

For the simple verb **ἵστημι** as the equivalent of the Hebrew **יָדָה** (with the sense "establish", "appoint"), cf: 2 Chr 20.21; Ezr 3.8b; Neh 6.7; 7.3; 12.31; 13.30.

- (417) For the Hasidaeans as a link with the ancient tribal asceticism of Israel, and especially the probability that they revived the permanent nazirate, see "Scrolls", pp 15f, 43f.

For the hasidic revival of the warrior sexual tabu, see "Scrolls", pp 17, 29f (cf Aspects du Judéo-Christianisme, 1965 p 24 n1).

- (418) Cf M. Black, "Scrolls", p 30.

- (419) 1 M 3.13 : ὅτι ἤθροισεν Ἰούδας ἄθροισμα καὶ ἐκκλησίαν
πιστῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐκπορευομένων εἰς πόλεμον

literally: that Judas had mustered a levy and a company of pious believers / μετ' αὐτοῦ/ going forth to battle, OR, fit for military service.

If μετ' αὐτοῦ refers to Judas, the passage reads:

.... that Judas had mustered to himself a levy and a company of pious believers....

If, however, we construe μετ' αὐτοῦ with ἄθροισμα, then the whole phrase καὶ ἐκκλησίαν πιστῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ indicates more clearly that the group of pious believers form part of the levy; thus the passage might be rendered:

.... that Judas had mustered a levy, which included a company of pious believers, fit for military service.

F.-M. Abel, op.cit. p 57, disagrees with the omission (by Lucian and the Syriac versions) of the καὶ after μετ' αὐτοῦ. The resulting distinction made by Abel between the "faithful" and the "men fit for war" misses the crucial point, namely, that the pious have also mustered for battle and are ready to fight.

The phrase ἐκκλησία πιστῶν would seem to be equivalent to συναγωγή Ἀσιδαιῶν in 1 M 2.42, the latter, significantly, are described as warriors. Thus we have two important indications that the early Maccabaeon army included a contingent of Hasidaeans.

In the phrase ἐκπορευομένοι εἰς πόλεμον Abel sees a technical expression corresponding to the Hebrew נָחֵם וְנָחֵם (Nu 31.36; cf ibid vv 27, 28). Note also the frequent use of the phrase נָחֵם נָחֵם in the census lists of the Book of Numbers (Nu 1 passim; 26.2; also 1 Chr 12.33, 36).

Abel does not indicate in what sense the men were fit for battle ("aptés à faire la guerre"). The NEB interpretation reads "of military age". In view of the inclusion of the hasidic contingent we may suggest that to some extent ritual fitness may be implied.

- (420) The verb ζηλοῦν + Dative translates the Hebrew נָחֵם + ה' :
1 M 2.26, 27, 50; Nu 25.11, 13; 2 Sam 21.2; 1 K 19.10, 14; 2 K 10.16.

- (421) In the significant list of patriarchs and champions of the past (1 M 2.51-61) we read that Joseph kept the commandments (v 53), Joshua kept the Law (v 55), and Elijah never relented in his zeal for the Law (v 58).

- (422) By contrast, the writer of Second Maccabees omits all reference to Mattathias; cf Abel, op.cit. Introd. p xxxv.

- (423) Cf F.-M. Abel, op.cit. p 48 on 1 M 2.54.

The figure of Phinehas is especially relevant for the spirit of the Maccabaeen Revolt.

An informative discourse on the concept of "zeal", and with special reference to the significance of Phinehas, is found in M. Hengel's work, *Die Zeloten*, 1961 pp 151-229.

- (424) For the zealous action of Yahweh loyalists, vide supra p 36 and note (172).

- (425) F.-M. Abel, op.cit. p 90, correctly interprets *ἐναθεματίζειν* as corresponding to the Hiph'il of *אָנָה*, to "vow to the deity through destruction".

- (426) W.O.E. Oesterley, *History of Israel*, vol 2 p 226; cf the comment of V. Tcherikover, supra p 104.

- (427) The Deuteronomist consistently demands the practice of herem, the destruction of pagan altars and images, and the proscription of intermarriage and treaties with foreigners; cf supra pp 30-31.

- (428) Cf G.H. Jones, op.cit. pp 147-164. Evil, pride and arrogance are especially stated to be the reasons for the destruction of the enemy. Note also B.B. Margulis, op.cit. pp 238-241, 262, 342. Cf supra p 59.

- (429) "Belial" in the Old Testament is for the most part an abstract noun with the basic connotation "worthlessness". The Septuagint interprets the term more explicitly as transgression of the Law.

- (430) For the phrase in the Septuagint, cf 2 Sam 20.1 (sing.); 2 Chr 13.7. For the similar phrase *ὑιοὶ παρανόμων*, cf Ju 19.22; 20.13; 1 K 21.10,13 (LXX 3 K 20.10,13).

- (431) 1 Sam 2.12; 10.27; cf 1.16; 25.17,25.

The juxtaposition of the two phrases in 1 M 10.61 and in 2 Chr 13.7 may also be noted:

1 M 10.61

ἄνδρες λοιμοὶ ἐκ Ισραὴλ, ἄνδρες παράνομοι

2 Chr 13.7

ἄνδρες λοιμοὶ ὑιοὶ παράνομοι

- (432) Disaster is understood as Yahweh's punishment, revenge, and anger (G.H. Jones, op.cit. pp 165-170). Here Jones sees "an extension of the moralising and theologising tendency witnessed in the inclusion of reasons for punishment" (ibid p 170).

For wrath and vengeance as aspects of the Day of Yahweh, note G.H. Jones, ibid pp 245f; J.H. Hayes, op.cit. pp 222f, 242.

For the Day of Yahweh as a day of judgment, cf J.H. Hayes, ibid pp 290f.

B.B. Margulis, op.cit. p 247, remarks that the widespread use of the revenge motif in the oracles against the nations is a major link between that tradition and the Day of Yahweh tradition.

Cf supra p 59, and, for textual references, note (306).

- (433) Cf F.-M. Abel, op.cit. 2 M 5.19 ad loc. Contrast God's action against Heliadorus in defence of the Temple (2 M 3.30, 38f) - this, significantly, when the saintly Onias was high priest.

- (434) It may also be suggested that the movement of pious Jews into the wilds at the time of the defilement of the Temple and of the persecution, may be construed as a return to the desert, the place

of divine discipline and salvation (cf W.R. Farmer, op.cit. pp 116f, 119f).

For the movement into the wilds, cf 1 M 2.27f, 29f; 2 M 5.27; 6:11.

- (435) Note also in Daniel the idea that the period of persecution will come to an end: Dan 11.24, 27, 35, 36.

- (436) With 1 M 3.8 contrast the means of reconciliation in 2 M 7.37f. The zealous action of the former is closer to the ancient holy war tradition. M. Hengel, op.cit. p 158, notes that the motif of penitence is more prominent in Second Maccabees than that of zeal.

In keeping with the spiritual presentation of Second Maccabees, the high priest Onias receives a certain prominence (2 M 3.1; 4.2, 33-37; 15.12ff), whereas no mention is made of Mattathias or Phinehas.

For the religious character of Second Maccabees, cf F.-M. Abel, op.cit. Introd. p xxxiv.

- (437) E. Lohse, Märtyrer und Gottesknecht, FRLANT NS 46, 1955 p 66.

The salient points in Lohse's discussion of the Maccabaeian period may be noted briefly.

Lohse notes that the Maccabaeian period provides the earliest examples of the martyrs praying that their deaths may remove God's wrath from Israel (2 M 7.37f; op.cit. pp 42f).

In the main, the writer of Second Maccabees interprets and explains the sufferings and deaths of the martyrs in terms of God's punishment and discipline (2 M 6.12, 16; 7.33). Significantly, some idea of vicarious suffering is presented. The martyrs die because Israel has sinned against God (2 M 7.18, 32). They take the guilt of their people upon themselves, and by their deaths appease the anger of God (2 M 7.38; Lohse, ibid pp 66ff).

Closely linked with the fate of the martyrs is the belief that God will raise them from the dead (Dan 12.1-3; 2 M 7.9, 11, 14, 23, 29; 12.44-45a; 14.46; Lohse, ibid pp 68, 69).

The concept that the deaths of the martyrs effect atonement is clearly presented in Fourth Maccabees, but the idea is already implicit in 2 M 7.37-38 (Lohse, ibid pp 69-72).

- (438) Cf F.-M. Abel, op.cit. p 24 on verse 53.

- (439) The Hebrew term is frequently found parallel to "patrimony", as in the phrase נְחֻלָּה וְיָרֵשׁ (Dt 10.9; 12.12; 14.27, 29; 18.1).

- (440) Various points relevant to these issues are discussed by F.-M. Abel in the Introduction to his commentary.

On the authenticity and historical value of Second in relation to First Maccabees, cf Abel, op.cit. Introd. p xxxviii.

Abel considers (with reference to First Maccabees) that the Maccabaeian successes are related to divine assistance, but this assistance does not rule out human participation and diplomatic activity (ibid. Introd. pp xxii-xxiii).

The author of Second Maccabees, Abel considers "a preacher rather than an historian" who "views the history not from the political but from the theological angle", his purpose being "to edify and instruct Greek-speaking Diaspora Jews" (ibid Introd. pp xxxiii-xxxv).

- (441) G. von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 84; cf R. de Vaux, op.cit p 266, "God did not order the war and does not intervene directly in it."

- (442) F.-M. Abel, op.cit. p 59 on 1 M 3.22, notes that *συντριβαν* here and in the Septuagint corresponds to the Hebrew *נִצְּבָה*, e.g. Ps 10.15; 29.5; 46.9; Jer 17.18; 19.11; 48.4,38 (LXX 31.4,38); 49.35 (LXX 25.35); 51.8 (LXX 28.8); Ezk 30.8,21,22.
- (443) Cf G. von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 47.
- (444) F.-M. Abel, op.cit. Introd. pp xxi,xxiv-xxv. Abel suggests that the following passages indicate that the author was an eye-witness :
1 M 6.39; 7.33; 8.19; 9.43ff.
- (445) a) References to human effort in battle :
1 M 3.23f; 4.14f,34; 5.3,7,21f,28,34,35f,43f,50,65;
6.6,19f,42-46; 7.32,43,45f; 9.14-17,47ff,66ff; 10.74-82,84f;
11.47f,61,65,73f; 12.31; 13.43; 16.7-10.
- b) References denoting incitement to fight - although "secular" in tone, these are in keeping with the author's portrayal of the Maccabees and their warriors. (for references, vide supra note (357))
- c) References to the "glorification" of the Jews :
- 2.64 "be strong in the Law, for by it you will win glory".
4.35 Judas' army is "full of daring, ready to live or die nobly".
5.63f reference: the reputation and fame of Judas and his brothers; cf 11.51.
6.44 Eleazar Savaran won everlasting renown for himself.
9.10 Judas' concern to "...leave no stain on our honour".
12.51 Trypho's men saw that the Jews would fight to the death.
13.3f Simon's assessment of the deeds of the Hasmonaeans.
14.4-15 the eulogy on Simon's reign.
14.26 reference: the fame of Simon and his father's family.
14.29 the inscription presented to Simon indicates that he "brought great glory to their nation".
14.35 reference: Simon's resolution to win fame for his nation.
16.23 reference: John's deeds of valour.
- (446) F.-M. Abel, op.cit. Introd. p xxv(foot).
- (447) G. von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, pp 12(foot)-13.
- (448) F.-M. Abel, op.cit. Introd. p xxxiv.
- (449) Note especially, von Rad's discussion, Der heilige Krieg, pp 43-50,81. (Cf supra pp 20-21).
- (450) Especially important are the indications of Yahweh's manipulation of the forces of nature which we find a) in the ancient war tradition, b) in connection with theophany descriptions c) in the cosmic imagery of the prophetic Day of Yahweh passages.
- References: a) Ex 14.20; 15.8,10; Josh 10.11,12f; 24.7; Ju 5.4f,20f; 1 Sam 7.10; 14.15.
b) Gen 19.24; Ex 19.16,18; 2 Sam 22.8-16 (=Ps 18); Ps 29; 50.1-6; 77.16-20; 81.7b; 104.7,32; Hab 3.3-6,10.
c) Is 13.10,13; Ezk 38.19f,22; Joel 2.2,10; Am 5.18,20; Zeph 1.15; Hag 2.21ff.

- (451) Cf G. von Rad, *Der heilige Krieg*, pp 58-60 (reference, "looking to Yahweh"), 43-50 ("spiritualised" war narratives), 81 (2 Chr 20).
- (452) W.R. Farmer, *op.cit.* pp 97ff.
- (453) R. de Vaux, *op.cit.* 266. For von Rad's discussion of the crossing of the Sea, note *Der heilige Krieg*, pp 45ff.
- (454) Cf P.R. Davies, *op.cit.* pp 63foot-64.
- (455) Significantly, their singing is followed by Yahweh's action against the enemy; cf 1 Sam 7.10 - while Samuel offers sacrifice at Mizpah Yahweh is already thundering against the Philistines and throwing them into confusion.
- (456) Cf Osten-Sacken, *op.cit.* p 66.
- (457) For the Maccabees, concepts of cultic purity and cultic pollution are seen primarily in relation to the intrusion of ideas and practices of an alien culture. Even in matters of individual observation of levitical holiness a new dimension is involved because of the attempted suppression of the very faith and practice of Judaism. Over against this immediate and crucial issue, the subjective consideration of warrior purity has almost totally receded as far as our narratives are concerned.
- (458) F.-M. Abel, *op.cit.* p 443 on verse 39.
- (459) Ex 23.33; 34.12; (M. Noth suggests these passages are additions in Deuteronomistic language, *OT Library Exodus*, pp 192,262)
Dt 7.16,25; 12.30; Josh 23.13; Ju 2.3; cf Ps 106.36.
- (460) For the strategic and cultic significance of the Acra, see Abel, *op.cit.* pp 16-18 on 1 M 1.33-37, p 67 on 1 M 3.45, p 259 on 1 M 14.36.
- (461) Behind the idealised and stereotyped presentation of the Deuteronomist we may point to the prophetic "desert ideal", the strict ascetic-puritanism of the Rechabites and similar Yahweh loyalists, and ultimately to the authentic and original desert Yahwism.
- (462) Cf F.-M. Abel, *op.cit.* p 90 on verse 5.
- (463) Noteworthy is the Chronicler's emphasis on music and liturgy in connection with the dedication of Solomon's Temple :
2 Chr 5.12-13; 7.6; contrast 1 K 8.62ff.
- (464) Osten-Sacken, *op.cit.* p 66, maintains that the theory of holy war received this liturgical presentation for the first time in 2 Chr 20. The importance of the liturgical emphasis in the Chronicler is noted by von Rad, *Der heilige Krieg*, pp 80-81.
- (465) Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare*, 1963, pp 279-282; *ibid* p 263 with reference to the organisation of the tribal units which joined David at Ziklag (1 Chr 12); Yadin, "Scroll" pp 83-86.
- (466) Y. Yadin, "Scroll", pp 81f.
- (467) 1 QM 2.5 (incense offering); 7.3 (provisions); 9.10 (battle formations). Note also, with reference to preparing the table, 1 QSa 2.17; 1 QS 6.4.
- (468) Gen 14.8; Ju 20.20,22,30,33; 1 Sam 4.2; 17.2,8,21; 2 Sam 10.8,9,10; 1 Chr 19.9,17; 2 Chr 13.3; 14.10; Joel 2.5.

- (469) Y. Yadin, "Scroll" pp 65,67f; criticised by P.R. Davies, op.cit. p 94 n11.
- (470) For the six initial years as preparatory, cf J. van der Ploeg, *Le Rouleau de la Guerre*, 1959 pp 20f,71ff; G.R. Driver, *Judaean Scrolls*, 1965 pp 222,234; J.T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, 1957 p 122; E.F. Sutcliffe, *Monks of Qumran*, 1960 p 6.
- (471) E.A. Speiser, *BASOR* 149, 1958 pp 17-25.
- (472) Nu 31.3,5; 32.17,20,21,27,29,30,32; Josh 6.7,9,13; Dt 3.18; 1 Chr 12.23,24; 2 Chr 28.14; Is 15.4.
- (473) F.-M. Abel, op.cit. p 57.
- (474) 1QM 1.4,13; 3.1,7; 4.9; 6.1,4,8,10; 7.15; 8.3; 9.3,11; 16.3,10.
- (475) Human battle hosts : 1 QM 4.11; 5.3; 7.6; 12.24;
Angelic hosts : 1 QM 12.1,4,8,9; 19.1.
- (476) Y. Yadin, "Scroll" pp 40foot-41; cf ibid p 91.
- (477) The connotation of the term is discussed by J.T. Milik, *The Book of Enoch : Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4*, 1976.
The relevant passages are : 4QEn^c I i 19 (En 2.1) (Milik, p 184, and critical note, ibid p 187); 4 Q Enastr^b 28.2 (En 82.10) (Milik, ibid p 295); 1 QS 10.4 (Milik, ibid p 187).
Milik considers **סוּרָה** to mean the "relative position of a star in relation to others".
With reference to the occurrence of **סוּרָה** in 1 QM 3.3,12, Milik interprets the term in the sense of "station, position, specific rank" applied to army officers (Milik, ibid p 187foot).
While recognising the original sense of the term, one might suggest that in its application to the military context it may have come to refer not only to individuals set in rank or station but to the group or body comprising men so organised — thus, with Yadin, the army units or formations.
The development and application of another term from the Zodiacal usage in the Aramaic of Enoch may be noted. In 4 Q ENastr^b 28.1 (En 82.9) Milik suggests that the term **זַיְדִי** should be translated "signs of the Zodiac" (Milik, ibid p 295), and further, that the corresponding Hebrew term **זַיְדִי** in 1 QS 10.3 should be translated "constellations of the Zodiac" (ibid p 187).
Milik does not, however, mention the significant use of **זַיְדִי** in 1 QM where it denotes God's "appointed time" (1 QM 3.7b; 4.7b; 15.5a,6b,12b; 17.5b; 18.9b); the term also denotes the eschatological time in the Book of Daniel (Dan 8.19; 11.27,29,35; cf Hab 2.3). (Vide supra p 158).
- (478) Z. Ben Hayyim, *Traditions in the Hebrew Language with special reference to DSS*, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 4, 1958 pp 211f.
- (479) Y. Yadin, "Scroll", pp107f.
- (480) M. Noth, *OT Library Exodus* 1962, p 150. Cf supra, note (25).
- (481) Cf Ju 7.2-8,23-25; 1 K 20.15,17,19-20.

- (482) E.g. **רָצַח** "destroy" : 1.4; 9.5; 13.5;
אָנִיחַ "annihilate" : 3.9; 11.11; 13.16; 17.5;
 & subst. : 1.5, 10, 16; 4.12; 9.5, 6; 14.5;
 15.2; 18.11;
רָצַח "crush" : 11.6; 12.10; 19.4.

- (483) Cf **וְשָׁמַע** : 1 Sam 31.8, 9; 2 Sam 23.10; 1 Chr 10.8, 9;
וְשָׁמַע : Is 10.6; Ezk 38.12-13.

- (484) It is necessary to distinguish between trumpet names and trumpet signals. For the most part, it would seem that the trumpet name is derived from the corresponding signal. Indeed, the name is really a description of the signal rather than the designation of a particular type of trumpet. This would lead us to assume a single type of instrument and a variety of signals. Thus, for example, the passage 1 QM 7.9-14 may be explained as indicating six priests with six trumpets to be used for sounding the five designated signals (namely, summoning, "remembrance", terūcā, pursuit, and withdrawal). Here J. van der Ploeg (op.cit. p 16) confuses the issue by referring (twice) to "five types of trumpet" (cf also Yadin, "Scroll" p 90top).

- (485) P.R. Davies, op.cit. pp30f., notes the influence of Nu 10.1-10 on the names and inscriptions of the Scroll trumpets.

- (486) In the Scroll itself there are indications of a more primitive signalling system. In this connection, Davies (op.cit. pp 75, 77) notes that the battle narratives of Cols. 15-19 (outlined by Davies as 16.3b-9; 17.10-15; 18.3b-5a) contain the most primitive form of the trumpet names. Davies draws attention to two types of trumpet : trumpets of "remembrance", and trumpets of terūcā. While accepting to some extent Davies' main point, one would query the suggestion of "two types of trumpet", since what is indicated is in fact two types of signal.

The section heading 1 QM 2.15 mentions "trumpets of summoning" and "trumpets of terūcā". Yadin (Comm ad loc) considers these to be two collective terms summarising the trumpets in the list which follows.

- (487) 1 QM 8.5 **יְרֵי סִדֵּר** : signals for battle-order
 8.7 **יְרֵי בִּנְיָא** : signals for advance
 8.12 **יְרֵי מִלְחָמָה** : battle signals
 16.5 **יְרֵי הַמְּקָרֵב** : signals for engaging
 17.11 **יְרֵי הַמְּקָרֵב** : signals for engaging (for the spelling,
 cf van der Ploeg op.cit. p 181).

Cf Yadin, "scroll" pp 99f.

- (488) Cf Josh 8.14-22; Ju 20.29-43; 2 Chr 13.13.

- (489) Yadin, "Scroll", p 107 n3.

- (490) Yadin, "Scroll", pp 107f; J. van der Ploeg, op.cit. pp 125f.

- (491) S.B. Finesinger, HUCA 8-9 1931-2, p 208.

- (492) Cf Yadin, "Scroll", p 61 & ibid n7.

- (493) 1 QM 3.2b-11 (trumpet inscriptions); 3.12, 14; 4.1-14 (banner inscriptions); 6.2-3 (javelin inscriptions). Vide supra p 213 Table C.

Davies (op.cit. p 35) suggests that the Scroll's use of the name of God on inscriptions may derive from Psalm 20.6 (EVV 5) :

"In the name of our God we set up our banners".

(494) Yadin, "Scroll", p 64.

(495) For גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִּל, vide supra p 69.

For אֲנָשֵׁי מִלְחָמָה, note the following :

Nu 31.49; Dt 2.14,16; Josh 5.4,6; 6.3; 10.24; 1 Sam 18.5;
2 Sam 17.8; 1 K 9.22; 2 K 25.4,19; 1 Chr 12.38; 2 Chr 8.9;
Jer 39.4; 41.3,16; 49.26; 50.30; 51.32; 52.7,25; Ezk 27.10,27;
Joel 2.7; 4.9 (EVV 3.9); (for the singular, cf: Josh 17.1;
Ju 20.17; 1 Sam 16.18; 17.33; 1 Chr 28.3; Is 3.2; Jer 6.23;
Ezk 39.20).

Significantly, the phrase אֲנָשֵׁי מִלְחָמָה appears in apposition to גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִּל in 1 Chr 5.24, and to גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִּל in 1 Chr 12.30; cf also Gen 6.4b אֲנָשֵׁי הַשָּׁם : הַגִּבּוֹרִים .

(496) Yadin, "Scroll", p 77; cf Davies, op.cit. p 41.

(497) Yadin, "Scroll", p 78. Davies (op.cit. 42top) further suggests that the Qumran age limits for warriors may derive from Jewish military practice.

(498) Cf M. Black, "Scrolls" pp 28f.

(499) Yadin, "Scroll" p 76.

(500) Yadin, "Scroll" p 71.

(501) For טָהוֹר ("ritually clean"), vide supra p 40 & note (195).

Yadin suggests that the term מִקּוֹר may be a variant reading of Dt 23.11 : [לִיזָה] מִקְרָה, especially in view of the correspondence of the five words which precede the term in Deuteronomy and in 1 QM (Yadin, "Scroll", Comm. ad loc).

(502) P.R. Davies, op.cit. p 42.

(503) Yadin, "Scroll" p 73 n3.

(504) Yadin, "Scroll" pp 73f.

(505) J. van der Ploeg, op.cit. p 156.

(506) Cf Ex 15.1,20-21; Ju 5.1-3; 1 Sam 18.6-7; cf: 1 Sam 29.5; 2 Chr 20.28.

(507) In Ju 5.2 the designation of the warriors as "willing" is closely linked with the description of their "flowing hair", the latter feature being central for the ancient institution of nazirite warrior (vide supra pp 34-36).

P.C. Craigie considers that the Hithpa'el of נָתַן may have the sense of volunteering for war, and notes that the Arabic root (1st form) is used with the meaning "to incite" (as for war), and (8th form) "to answer the summons" (as to war) (Craigie, op.cit. p 42 n4).

G. von Rad (Der heilige Krieg, p 7) makes only a passing reference to the term, noting simply that "the Song of Deborah is amazed at the willingness and praises it twice."

(508) W.H. Brownlee, BASOR Suppl, Studies 10-12 1951, p 7 n5 (cf ibid

p 35 n7; p 37 n45). H. Kosmala, *Hebräer-Essener-Christen*, 1959 p 374.

(509) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. pp 119f.

(510) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. pp 214-233.

(511) As a cultic term, meaning "without spot or blemish", **טָהוֹר** occurs 50 times in the Old Testament with reference to sacrificial animals. Instances are confined to Exodus, Numbers, Leviticus, Ezekiel. Applied to persons, the term denotes perfection of character and conduct especially in relation to God, e.g. Dt 18.13; 2 Sam 22.24,26 (=Ps 18).

(512) 1 QS 1.8; 2.2; 3.9; 8.10b,18,21; 9.8,9,19 (cf 9.2,5);
1 QH 1.36; 1 QSa 1.28; 1 QSB 1.2; 5.22; CD 1.16; 3.2.

(513) Gen 6.9; 17.1; 2 Sam 22.33 (=Ps 18); Ps 15.2; 34.11; 101.2,6; 119.1; Prov 11.5,20; 28.18; cf Ezk 28.15.

(514) 1 QM 1.13; 4.4; 6.6; 11.10,14; 14.7,16; 15.2,9; 17.2.

(515) In the Old Testament **טָהוֹר** is for the most part an abstract noun with the basic connotation "worthlessness". The Septuagint interprets the term more specifically as transgression of the Law.

J. Becker points to the innovation in the War Scroll, where "Belial" occurs as a nomen proprium denoting the leader of the forces opposed to God (Becker, *Das Heil Gottes*, St.Unt 3 1964 p 76).

Osten-Sacken (op.cit. pp 74f, cf ibid pp 73-78) sees a hint of this personification already in Nahum 2.1b (EVV 1.15b).

Osten-Sacken (ibid p 194) also notes that in CD (and 1 QS) "Belial" is no longer the end-time opponent of God and His community, but a tool for rooting the wicked out of the new covenant. (Cf 1 QM 13.10b-11).

Cf also Yadin, "Scroll" pp232ff.

(516) Cf G.H. Jones, op.cit. pp 147-164 : evil, pride and arrogance especially are stated to be the reasons for the destruction of the enemy.

Cf also, B.B. Margulis, op.cit. pp 238-241, 262, 342.

(517) The Tetragrammaton does not appear in 1 QM - indeed, in two Biblical quotations cited in the Scroll it is omitted. Thus, Dt 20.4 : 1 QM 10.4 and Nu 10.9 : 1 QM 10.7.

Compare also 1 QM 14.16 **רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים** with Ps 24.14 **רוּחַ יְהוָה** and 1 QM 12.7 **כִּי קָדוֹשׁ אֱלֹהֵינוּ** with Ps 99.9 **יְהוָה יִקְדָּשׁ יְהוָה**.

Cf W.H. Brownlee, BASOR Suppl. Studies 10-12 p 33 n29,30 on 1 QS 8.14.

(518) G. von Rad, op.cit. p 7; cf Osten-Sacken, op.cit. p 38foot.

(519) To decide which goat is to be sacrificed and which is to be the scape-goat, Lev 16.8-10.

For the division of the land, Nu 26.55f et al.; Josh 14.2 et al., and especially 18.6. (In Josh 18.11 **נֶחֱלָה** is applied to the allotted portion).

To determine priestly divisions for service, 1 Chr 24.5,7; similarly, for the division of door-keepers, 1 Chr 26.13f.

In Nu 10.34 lots are cast among the priests, levites and people for the wood-offering for the altar, and in Neh 11.1 lots are cast for one in ten of the population to live in Jerusalem.

(520) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. pp 78ff.

(521) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. p 80; thus, ibid., "... the seven-phase battle-course with Yahweh's victory in the last phase then meant: the outcome of the battle, as portrayed in 1.13f., is not determined by chance but established by Yahweh through decision by lot, in the same way that the day of battle according to 1.10 is predetermined by God".

Osten-Sacken suggests further (ibid) that although, in contrast to Judges 20, 1 QM contains no reference to the formal procedure for enquiry by lot, "the mode of expression and content of the rite evident in Judges 20" have been taken up by the Scroll.

It is possible, therefore, that we have some vestige here of an essential element of ancient holy war practice, namely, oracular enquiry. It may be that the predominantly eschatological presentation of the battle has excluded, or made unnecessary, any explicit reference to the practical details of determining the course of the battle campaign.

(522) W.H. Brownlee, BASOR 10-12, p 19 n10 on 1 QS 5.3 : "at their mouth the decision of the lot comes forth"; p 25 n31 on 1 QS 6.16 : "according as the lot comes forth".

Note also the interesting restoration by Yadin of 1 QM 18.10 : **לורא**, "in light-of-perfection". The Hebrew presents a remarkable combination of what could be the initial syllables of "urim" and "thummim" — the possibility of a linguistic and metaphorical allusion to the ancient ^{lot} cannot be overlooked; note further, Yadin Comm. ad loc.

Elsewhere in the Scroll we find a significant juxtaposition of "lot" and "light" :

13.5b-6 "the lot of God is for light eternal"

9b-10a "and into the lot of light Thou didst cast us for Thy truth"

cf 12b "we the lot of Thy truth".

Note also the reference to Michael :

17.6b "He hath magnified the authority of Michael through eternal light".

(523) Of interest in Dt 32.9 is the parallelism between **לורא** (lot) and **לורא**. The term **לורא** appears in 1 QM 13.12 and 14.10. For the latter instance Yadin suggests as an alternative translation, "share".

(524) Yadin, op.cit. Comm. ad loc.

Again, in 9.6 and 18.4 the verb refers to the army "spreading out" against the enemy (presumably according to an organised and pre-determined order); in 18.4 the subject is more precisely stated : "all the battle formations" (cf 9.4b-5a).

Yadin compares the reference in 9.6 with Gen 14.15.

(525) Yadin, op.cit. pp 80f.

(526) Yadin, op.cit. pp 81f.

(527) The emphasis of the second genitive might be construed : holy ones "for" or "in respect of" covenant, meaning that the elect were men consecrated to the covenant, i.e. covenant loyalists. One might also understand the phrase as : "a people of holy ones (by reason of their membership) of covenant".

- (528) The words "who is like unto Thy people Israel" (10.9) correspond to 2 Sam 7.23a (Yadin, Comm. ad loc). The whole address is composite, and dependent on several Old Testament passages (cf Yadin, Comm. ad loc), but the phrase **עם קדושי בריא** is unique to the Scroll.
- (529) **השובר חסד לבריא** : for the combination of **חסד** and **בריא**, cf: Dt 7.9; 1 K 8.23; 2 Chr 6.14; Neh 1.5; 9.32; Dan 9.4; 1 QS 1.7-8. The importance of the community as a covenant-people is also apparent in 1 QS 3.11-12; 4.22; 5.5-6; 8.10a; cf Ezk 37.26.
- (530) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. pp 80-87.
For the influence on 1 QM 1 of the eschatology of the Book of Daniel, cf Osten-Sacken, ibid., pp 30-34. Osten-Sacken considers that the eschatology of Daniel is modified in 1 QM by the concept of the active role of Israel.
For the influence of the Day of Yahweh and the holy war tradition, cf Osten-Sacken, ibid., pp 34-40.
P.R. Davies disagrees with Osten-Sacken's conclusion (pp 88f) that Qumran dualism is presented in 1 QM in its original form (Davies, op.cit. p 19).
- (531) 1 QS 11.8; 1 QH 3.22; 10.35; 11.12; 1 Qsb 1.5; 4.23; 1 QM 1.16; 12.1-2,4,6; 10.12; 15.14; 18.2.
- (532) E.g. Dt 33.2; Job 5.1; 15.15; Ps 89.5,7; Dan 4.17; Zech 14.5; (cf sing. Dan 4.13,23; 8.13). For possible reference to human holy ones, cf Dt 33.3; Ps 16.3; 34.10 (EVV 9); and with reference to Aaron, Ps 106.16.
- (533) J.J. Collins, The Son of Man and the Saints of the Most High in the Book of Daniel, JBL 93 1974 p 52.
- (534) N. Porteous, OT Library Daniel, 1965 pp 112,115f.
- (535) N. Porteous, op.cit. p 116; Collins, op.cit. pp 63,66.
Yadin interprets 1 QM 12.1-4 to mean that the elect of the holy people are in heaven with the angels. The reference seems rather to be to the names of the elect being written in a book (or, with Yadin, "enumerated") in heaven; cf 1 Enoch 47.3; 104.1 (cf ibid 103.2; 108.3,7); see also R.H. Charles, Enoch, 1912 pp 91f.
- (536) Thus, priests (Lev 21.6-8; Ezr 8.28), Levites (2 Chr 35.3) and the nazirite (Nu 6.8), are "holy to God". Note also the similar requirement for the community itself, Lev 20.26; Nu 15.40.
- (537) Dt 7.6; 14.2,21; 26.19; 28.9.
The combination **אֱלֹהֵי-קָדְשׁ** (Ex 22.30 (EVV 31)) may be taken as almost equivalent to **קדושים**.
- (538) Lev 11.44,45; 19.2; 20.7,26; cf Nu 15.40; 16.13. H. Kosmala, op.cit. p 58.
- (539) For this connotation of **נִזְרִי**, note: Gen 49.26 (Dt 33.16); Lev 22.2; Lev 15.31; Zech 7.3. Note also the application of **קדשׁ** to the prophet Jeremiah (Jer 1.5).
For the regulations pertaining to the nazirite vow, cf Nu 6. Cf supra pp 74f.

- (540) The substantive ⁷¹⁷ is used in several expressions describing the sectarian and their community. They are "men of holiness" (1 QS 5.13,18; 8.17,23; 9.8), a "council of holiness" (1 QS 2.25; 5.20; 8.21), the "community of holiness" (1 QS 9.2), a "house of holiness" (1 QS 9.6; 8.5f; cf 5.6; 8.11).
- The verb is used to denote cultic sanctification in 1 QS 3.4,9. Osten-Sacken (op.cit. pp 220f) suggests that the 1 QM regulations for camp purity became part of the praxis of the Qumran community (note especially the exclusion of the ritually unfit, 1 QS 2.3ff., and the community lustrations, 1 QS 2.25b - 3.12).
- (541) Anger of God (1 QM 3.9b; 4.1; 6.3), judgment of God (4.6; 6.3), vengeance, retribution, retaliation of God (4.12), disgraceful retribution (3.6), His wrathful vengeance (3.6), vengeful remembrance (3.7).
- (542) Recompense (11.13), judgment (11.14,16; 15.13), retribution (17.1; 18.13), vengeance (13.17).
- (543) Cf supra pp 12f,22. Note especially, J.H. Hayes, op.cit. pp 68-80, 90f; and Hayes, The Usage of Oracles against foreign Nations in ancient Israel, JBL 87 1968 pp 81-92.
- (544) J. Barr notes that the term, borrowed from Persian, denotes the divine plan or purpose behind history (Peake 520c), and further that the reference to God revealing secrets (Dan 2.28) "expresses the essence of apocalyptic" (Peake 520e).
- (545) Note the inscription of the ambush trumpets (3.9a): "mysteries of God for the perdition of wickedness". Cf., with reference to Belial, "the mysteries of his hatred" (14.9).
- (546) Yadin (Comm. ad 14.14) lists the following additional references: CDC 3.18 (5.5); 1 QS 9.18; 11.5; 1 QH 4.27-28; 7.27; 11.10; 13.2; cf 1 QS 11.3 (vide Brownlee, BASOR 10-12 p 55); 1 QH 1.10.
- (547) Vide supra, p 55 & note (282). Note in addition, general references to Yahweh's "wonders":
- 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤏 : Ps 77.12(EVV11); 88.11,13 (EVV 10,12); 89.6 (EVV5);
- 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤏𐤕 : 1 Chr 16.9,24; Job 5.9; 9.10; 37.14; Ps 9.2 (EVV1); 26.7; 40.6(EVV5); 71.17; 75.2(EVV1); 78.4; 96.3; 98.1; 105.2; 107.8,15,21,24; 111.4; 145.5; Jer 21.2b; note also, with reference to Egypt, Ps 106.7.
- (548) M. Black, "Scrolls" pp 142ff, especially with reference to 1 QH 11.6-8,10-12,23-27; 4.27.
- (549) Yadin, "Scroll" p 221, suggests that they failed to stand the test.
- (550) Noted by J. van der Ploeg, op.cit. p 171.
- (551) There may be a hint here of the idea (more explicitly expressed in Daniel and 2 Maccabees) that the time of wrath had its limit set by God : Dan 11.24,27,35,36; cf 2 M 5.17; 7.33.
- (552) 1 QS 1.17; 8.4; 1 QH 5.16; CD 20.27; 4 Qp Ps 37 b4; 4 Q Fl 2.1.
- (553) Ps 17.3; 26.2; 66.10; 105.19; Is 1.25; 48.10; Jer 9.7; Zech 13.9; Mal 3.2,3. Note also the imagery in Ezk 22.18-22.

- (554) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. p 83; cf ibid p 35.
- (555) M. Black, in a private communication.
- (556) For the comprehensive series, "chief priest, priests, levites.....", note : 15.4; 18.5; 19.11-12; cf 13.1.
- (557) P.R. Davies, op.cit. p 43top.
- (558) **D*74V** ; cf also 1 QM 10.5a.
 For levitical officers, cf 1 Chr 23.4; 2 Chr 34.13. Significantly, it is a Levite who encourages the army in 2 Chr 20.14ff.
 The Deuteronomist does not qualify the officers (Dt 20.5,8,9).
 Cf note (594).
- (559) In the ancient tradition, the origin of the war address may be seen in the direct words of Yahweh to the charismatic leader :
 Nu 21.34; Dt 3.2; Josh. 6.2; 8.1,18; 10.6; 11.6 cf Ju 4.7;
 Ju 7.2,7,9.
 Note also the divine word given in answer to oracular enquiry :
 Ju 1.1-2; 20.28; 1 Sam 23.4; 2 Sam 5.19,23-24.
 Especially important is the injunction "fear not", and the assurance that the enemy has been, or will be delivered into their hand (cf supra p 20).
 The divine assurance then becomes the substance of the address of the leader to the people :
 Ex 14.13-14; Dt 1 29-30; 3.22; 7.18-23; 9.3; 20.1,3; 31.3,5,6,7-8;
 Josh 6.16; 8.7; 10.19b,25; Ju 3.28; 4.14; 7.15;
 cf: 1 K 20.13,28; 2 Chr 20.15,17.
 The Deuteronomist formulates this ancient address into formal ordinance for battle, making it a pre-battle address by a priest to the assembled army (Dt 20.2-4); cf G. von Rad, OT Library Deuteronomy, p 131.
- (560) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. p 60; for a qualified acceptance, cf P.R. Davies op.cit. p 95 (cf ibid pp 92foot-93).
- (561) Yadin, "Scroll", pp 66-70; cf Davies, op.cit. p 93.
- (562) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. p 61.
- (563) For the title "chief priest" with reference to the First Temple, cf Yadin, "Scroll" p 207; Yadin notes that the chief priest had a second-in-command : 2 K 25.18 = Jer 52.24; cf 2 K 23.4 (reading the singular; cf J.A. Montgomery, ICC Kings, ad loc).
 For the function of the two priests in battle, Yadin draws attention to the pertinent rabbinic discussion centred on "the priest" of Dt 20.2 (Yadin, "Scroll" p 209). Significantly, the Rabbis designate the priest "the one anointed for battle"; Yadin compares the phrase describing the second priest in the Scroll: "the priest destined for the appointed time of vengeance" (ibid p 211foot).
 One would therefore question on the one hand Yadin's tacit assumption that "the priest" in Dt 20.2 and 1 QM 10.2 is in fact the chief priest (Yadin, ibid p 217 & Comm. ad 1 QM 15.7), and on the other hand his opinion that the encouragement speech of Dt 20.2-4 and 1 QM 10.2b-4 is "the prayer for the appointed time of battle" (Yadin, ibid pp 217,218).
- (564) With the separate and specific duties of the chief priest and the priest appointed for battle we may compare the distinction of function in 2 Chr 20. Here Jehoshaphat "seeks Yahweh", initiates penitential fasting, and is the spokesman for the pre-battle prayer (vv 3,5-12), whereupon an inspired Levite delivers an encouragement address which

in its style and content typifies the holy war battle-speech (vv 14-17).

(565) 1 QM 10.3b-4 (Dt 20.3-4)

1 QM 15.7b-9a

- | | | | |
|----|---|--|----|
| | | Be ye strong and courageous and
be men of valour, | 7b |
| 3b | fear not and let
not your hearts faint, | fear not, nor be ye dismayed
and let not your hearts faint, | 8 |
| 4 | do not tremble, neither
be ye afraid because of
them; | do not tremble, neither be ye
afraid because of them, be not
turned back nor flee from them. | 9a |
| | for your God goeth with
you, to fight for you
against your enemies,
to save you. | | |

(566) The phraseology of the Scroll may be compared with :
Josh 10.25; 2 Sam 2.7a; 13.28end; Dt 20.3b; 31.6a,7a,8b;
2 Chr 32.7a .

(567) Note especially : Is 17.13; 29.5,7f; cf Ps 35.5; 37.20b; Hos 13.3 .
For the weakness of the enemy, note :
Is 13.7f; 19.1b,3a,16; 41.11f; Jer 48.41; 49.22b,24; 50.43 .
(Cf supra p 22foot).

(568) Note the comparable themes and motifs :

1 QM 15.7b-15; 16.1

1 QM 17.4-9

- | | | | |
|-----|---|---|----|
| 7b | Be ye strong and courageous
and be men of valour, | But ye, be ye strong and
fear them not, | 4a |
| 8 | fear not | | |
| 9b | For they are a wicked
congregation: in darkness
are all their deeds, and | for their destiny is for
chaos and their desire is | 4b |
| 10a | unto it is their desire.
They have made lies their
refuge, | for the void, | |
| 10b | their might is like unto
smoke that vanisheth away,
and all their assembled | and their support as if it
had not existed. | |
| 11 | multitude is as chaff that
passeth away, and it shall
become a desolation, and
shall not be found. All their
creatures of evil intention
shall quickly wither away | | |
| 12b | ... this day is an appointed
time of battle unto God | To-day is His appointed time
to subdue and to humble the | 5b |
| 13a | against all the nations and
strife of judgment against
all flesh | prince of the dominion of
wickedness | |
| 14b | The battalions of the mighty
angels are girding themselves
for battle, and the arrays of | He will send assistance to
the lot to be redeemed by Him
through the might of an angel: | 6 |
| 15 | His saints are preparing them-
selves | He hath magnified the
authority of Michael | |

But ye, sons of His covenant 8b
 be ye strong in God's 9
 crucible, until He shall
 lift up His hand and shall

13b The God of Israel is raising
 His hand

16.1b through the saints of
 His people He will do
 mightily.

complete His testings through
 His mysteries with regard to
 your existence.

(569) 1 QM 1.13; 6.6a; 11.10b-11a, 13b-14a; 13.15; 14.7b-8a, 16b;
 15.2a, 9-10a, 14a; 17.1b-2a, 5b-6a.

Note also the emphasis in the phraseology of inscriptions :

1 QM 3.6, 7b, 8, 9; 4.1b-2a, 3, 3b-4a, 12; 6.3.

(570) P.R. Davies, op.cit. p105(top).

Davies also maintains that a blessing-and-curse ritual does not seem to have any place in war rites. This would seem to contradict not only the ancient Balaam tradition but also the evidence of the prophetic oracles against the nations (cf supra pp 21, 22).

Cf J.H. Hayes, op.cit. pp 68-81, 91; G.H. Jones, op.cit. pp 19-24 - Jones (against D.R. Hillers, Treaty Curses and OT Prophets, 1964) considers that the curse tradition is not necessarily connected with ancient treaty curses; J. Pedersen, op.cit vol 2 p 18.

(571) Yadin, "Scroll", Comm. ad 13.1; cf ibid pp 223ff.

Yadin finds that the ritual closely resembles the ceremony described in 1 QS 1.18 - 2.18, and considers that the curse took place after battle. Although post-battle curse is indicated in the Old Testament (cf supra p 21), it might seem more logical to curse the enemy before rather than after his destruction (note again, Pedersen, op.cit. vol 2 p 18).

Osten-Sacken, op.cit. p 110, notes that because of the lost end of Col. 12 the place of 13.1-6 in the battle sequence cannot be established (cf ibid p 111 n2); at the same time he pertinently notes that the blessing and curse anticipate the end-time destiny of both participating parties (ibid p 110foot).

Osten-Sacken concludes that 13.1-6 is still anchored in the original war situation (ibid p 215; cf ibid pp 108, 111), and certainly that the introductory formula is completely rooted in the conceptual complex of the end-war (ibid p 111; cf ibid p 110 & n2; cf 1 QM 15.4; 18.5b, 6a).

Note also his discussion of the blessing-and-curse ritual which is part of the covenant renewal ceremony of 1 QS 1.18 (ibid pp 214ff), and his opinion that the latter is dependent on 1 QM 13.1-6 and has its origin in the war context.

In his outline of the contents of the Scroll, J. van der Ploeg indicates that the blessing-and-curse ceremony is a pre-battle rite (op.cit. pp5f).

J. Becker, op.cit. p 47, considers Col. 13 to be an "amplifying filler", and that in 13.1-6 there is no reference to war; Becker also draws the comparison with 1 QS.

(572) J. Becker, op.cit. pp 80f; cf Yadin, "Scroll", Comm. ad 13.4.

(573) P.R. Davies, op.cit. pp 91-112.

(574) P.R. Davies, op.cit. pp 95f.

(575) Cf Jer 51.15f.

In the holy war tradition, God, as Creator, controls and uses the forces of nature in His wars : Ex 15.8,10,19; Josh 10.11-14; 24.7a; Ju 5.4f,20; 1 Sam 7.10b; 14.15.

Descriptions of cosmic disturbance are evident in the prophetic oracles, and especially in association with the Day of Yahweh, cf supra pp 48-51 and note (304).

(576) Namely, 10.17 - 11.7; 11.7b-12; 11.13-end. Davies, op.cit. pp 96-100.

(577) For references to God delivering up the enemy, vide supra note (285). For the assurance that God will deliver up the enemy, vide supra note (102).
Cf G. von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, pp7-8.

(578) Cf Ex 7.5; 14.4,18; 1 Sam 17.46; Is 49.26 (cf 45.3); cf also 1 K 20.13,28.
The phrase occurs frequently in Ezekiel with reference both to Israel and to foreign nations.

(579) Cf Dt 20.1,4; Josh 24.12; Ju 7.2; 1 Sam 2.9b; 17.45,47; 2 Chr 16.7f; 32.8; Zech 4.6; 2 K 6.14-17.

(580) Yadin, "Scroll" pp 313f., suggests that the gap in line 17 probably contained allusions to Ezk 38-39, and restores 17b-18 after Ezk 38.22.

(581) P.R. Davies, op.cit. pp 100ff.

(582) Notably, the idealised war narratives (Josh 6; Ju 7; Ex 14; 1 Sam 17; cf G. von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, pp 43-50), the prophetic tradition (cf von Rad, ibid pp 56-62, with reference to Isaiah), and the unique presentation of 2 Chr 20 (cf von Rad, ibid p 81).

(583) P.R. Davies, op.cit. p 103.

(584) P.R. Davies, op.cit. p 103.

(585) P.R. Davies, op.cit. pp 106-110.

(586) The raising of memorial stones (1 Sam 7.12) and altars (Ex 17.15; Josh 8.30f) might be assumed to take place immediately after victory, and certainly at or near the place of battle.

Miriam's Song (Ex 15.21f) might also indicate spontaneous celebration immediately after victory; (cf the Philistine victory celebration, Ju 16.23f).

Elsewhere, victory celebration is presented as the welcome given to returning warriors by singing and dancing women (Ju 11.34; 1 Sam 18.6).

(587) Joel 4.2,12 (Evv 3.2,12) presents an apocalyptic portrayal of the judgment of Yahweh upon the gathered nations. The gathering of the nations for judgment especially typifies the Day of Yahweh in verse 14. The imagery of the apocalyptic battle of Yahweh against the assembled nations is particularly clear in verses 9-13.

The motifs of the Day of Yahweh and divine wrath are central in the presentation of Zeph 3.8.

In an oracle against Babylon (without reference to the Day of Yahweh) Jeremiah portrays the "nations from the north" assembling to attack the city (Jer 50.9).

Note also the accompanying warrior theophany imagery in Is 13.4.

- (588) For "no remnant" cf Josh 8.22; Ezr 9.14; Jer 11.23; 42.17; 44.14.
For "no escape" cf Josh 8.22; Ju 3.29; 2 Chr 20.24; Ezr 9.14;
Jer 42.17; 44.14; 46.6.
- (589) P.R. Davies, op.cit. pp 85foot-86, 87f. For both 4b-8a and 8b-12a Davies (ibid pp 87foot-88) considers a Maccabaeen origin probable.
- (590) Cf Am 2.14ff; Jer 46.5f; 48.44f; 49.5,24; cf Is 24.18.
- (591) P.R. Davies, op.cit. p 85 & n5.
- (592) On 14.14 Yadin, "Scroll" p 329, suggests that the reference is to the demotion of Belial and the raising of Michael. The designation "those who belong to the dust" might more properly refer to the faithful warriors as in 11.13.
The whole of line 13 is particularly relevant in comparison (cf 14.10b-11a). For this dimension of the conflict, note also 13.10a-13a; 14.9-11.
- (593) P.R. Davies, op.cit. p 82(top).
- (594) In the Scroll Aaronite priests are charged with the specific military duties. A considerable role is also undertaken by levitical officers (cf supra pp 160f).
In 2 Chr 20.19 the functionaries are Levites; possibly the male singers (ibid v 21) are Levites also. The latter precede the army - note the position of the three levitical officers in 1 QM 7.13b-14a.
According to 2 Chr 20.14-17 it is a Levite who assumes the role of charismatic war-leader and delivers the encouragement address.
- (595) מִלְחָמָה : 1 Sam 4.8; Ps 76.5 (EVV4); 93.4; Is 10.34; 33.21; cf Ps 8.2.
נִפְחָה (Nipha¹): Ex 15.6,11.
- (59) Yadin, "Scroll", pp 231f.
- (597) For מַלְאָכִים as synonymous with "angels", cf Yadin, "Scroll" p 230.
- (598) 1 QM 1.4; 10.4; 11.17-18. For OT references, cf supra note (103).
מָחַ (destroy): 1 QM 1.4; 13.15; חָתַם (cut off): 1.4;
שָׁחַ (crush) : 12.10 (19.3); הָרַג (smite) : 3.9;
מָחַ (annihilate): 13.16; 14.5; 17.5.
For OT terminology, vide supra note (266).
- (599) "God's mighty deeds to scatter the enemy" 1 QM 3.5-6
"Lines of God's battalions for His wrathful vengeance" 3.7
"Vengeful remembrance at the appointed time of God" 3.7-8
"Hand of God's might in battle for striking down all sinful slain" 3.8
"Mysteries of God for the perdition of wickedness" 3.9
"God hath smitten all the Sons of Darkness" 3.9
"Anger of God in wrath against Belial" 4.1-2
"Hundred of God, a hand of battle against all unjust flesh" 4.2-3
"Ceased is the existence of the wicked by the might of God" 4.3-4
"Judgment of God" 4.6
"Right hand of God", "Appointed time of God", "Panic of God"
"Slain of God" 4.7
"Battle of God", "Vengeance of God", "Struggle of God",
/"Retribution

"Retribution of God", "Strength of God", "Retaliation of God",
 "Might of God", "Annihilation of God of all nations of vanity" 4.12
 "Saving acts of God", "Victory of God", "Help of God",
 "Support of God", 4.13
 "Flash of a lance to the might of God", "Sparks of blood to
 fell the slain by the anger of God", "Glitter of a sword
 devouring the sinful slain by the judgment of God" 6.2-3

(600) G.H. Davies, *The Ark in the Psalms, in Promise and Fulfilment*,
 ed. F.F. Bruce, 1963 pp 51ff.

(601) 1 QM 1.11,14; 4.12; 10.9; 11.4,9,11; 13.9,13,14; 14.5,13; 15.13;
 16.1b; 18.12.

Cf 11.5 : בכוחך בעוז חילכה הגדול

Cf supra p 54 & note (267).

For the power of God, note also the terms :

כוח , 4.12; 11.1,5,9; 13.13;

עוז , 11.5; 14.11,16;

חיל , 6.6; 11.5; 12.10.

(602) For OT references, vide supra note (289).

With the motif of "sharpening the sword" in Ezk 21.9-10,11 we may
 compare the reference to God sharpening His weapons, 1 QM 17.1 .
 Cf G.H. Jones, op.cit. pp 70,81-89.

(603) Throughout the holy war tradition Yahweh is presented as the author
 of victory, vide supra note (286).

For the promise of victory in the ancient war-speech motif,
 "delivering the enemy into the hand", cf supra note (102).

(604) Yadin, "Scroll", p 240.

(605) Yadin, "Scroll", pp 235f.

(606) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. pp 97,96.

(607) 1 QM 1.14b-15; cf 18.1,9b-end.

According to 19.9-11a, when the Sons of Light assemble in the
 morning to resume the battle they discover that the enemy have been
 slain. The miraculous slaughter of the enemy corresponds to the
 Sennacherib episode.

(608) Yadin, "Scroll", pp 241f.

(609) F.M. Cross, *Ancient Library of Qumran*, 1958 p 162.

(610) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. pp 214-238.

For the influence of holy war concepts in a much later period we may
 note significant references in Aphrahat's seventh "Demonstration"
 (Dem. 7.18,19). Here elements of the Deuteronomic war code (Dt 20.
 1-9), and a reference to the testing of Gideon's warriors (Ju 7.4-8),
 are taken up in an exhortation to candidates for baptism.

Cf A. Vööbus, *Celibacy as a requirement for admission to baptism in
 the early Syrian Church*, 1951 pp 49-58;
 R. Murray, NTS 21 1974-5 pp 59-80.

- (611) Cf: M.H. Segal, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 4 1958 pp 139-143;
 Osten-Sacken, op.cit. pp 40,67,72;
 G.R. Driver, *Judaean Scrolls*, 1965 pp 168,353-355;
 W.R. Farmer, *Maccabees, Zealots and Josephus*, 1956 pp 160f,171.

(612) Davies, op.cit. pp 24,28,65-67,123 .

(613) Davies, op.cit. pp 60-65 .

(614) Davies, op.cit. pp 80-90,123 .

The supposition (which would seem to be implied by Davies) that the eschatological element is a later addition to the original Maccabaeian war-rule tradition, may be questioned.

Apart from the fact that the Book of Daniel originates in the early Maccabaeian period (cf N. Porteous, *OT Library Daniel*, 1965 p 20), it is suggested that the Hasidaeans were the bearers of the apocalyptic-eschatological tradition (thus, O. Plöger, *Theokratie und Eschatologie*, WMANT 2 1962 — apud Osten-Sacken, op.cit. p 71 n5; cf Bo Reicke, *JBL* 79 1960 p 144; Farmer, op.cit. p 194).

J. van der Ploeg goes so far as to suggest that the eschatological sections in the War Scroll are primary (op.cit. pp 14,19f).

(615) Davies, op.cit. p 21 .

(616) Davies, op.cit. p 113 .

Insofar as Col.1 indicates three separate battles, it may also represent the compiler's attempt to co-ordinate the end-war one-day battle with the forty years' war. The main part of the latter comprises three distinct phases (2.10-14) and shows a certain resemblance in outline to the three campaigns of Col.1 .

(617) Davies, op.cit. pp 26,113 .

(618) Davies, op.cit. pp 86-88,92-104,123 .

(619) Davies, op.cit. pp 72,73,88 .

(620) Davies, op.cit. p 87 .

(621) Davies, op.cit. pp 104f.

(622) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. p 28 .

Osten-Sacken defines the dualism in 1 QM 1 as an eschatological battle-dualism (ibid p 84foot); the emphasis on the opposition between Israel and the nations is said to reflect the situation of crisis in the early Maccabaeian period (ibid p 85top).

J. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes* 1964, sees the main theme of the Scroll as the final eschatological battle (p 74), and points to a basic dualistic structure (pp 76f). This dualism is essentially militaristic in character (ibid p 78).

- (623) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. p 88 .

This assumption is rightly criticised by Davies, op.cit. p 19.

- (624) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. pp 42-50 .

- (625) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. pp 30-40 .

- (626) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. pp 34,39 .

- (627) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. pp 28 n1, 50 .

- (628) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. pp 52 n1, 105foot, 108foot-111 .

Davies, op.cit. pp 104f; J. Becker, op.cit. p 47 .

Vide supra pp 167-170.

- (629) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. p 60 n1; cf ibid pp 51f.

- (630) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. pp 60f.

The description of 1 QM 10.1-8a as a florilegium is criticised and corrected by Davies, op.cit. pp 92f.

- (631) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. pp 63-65 .

- (632) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. p 67 .

- (633) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. p 72foot.

- (634) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. p 68top.

- (635) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. pp 68foot-69 .

- (636) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. p 72foot.

- (637) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. pp 71,241; cf supra, note (614).

In this connection, further reference may be made to the analysis of 1 QM by J. van der Ploeg. He suggests the composing of a "primitive Scroll" (Cols. 1, 15-19 + 10-14) by one author, and its enlargement by another author (op.cit. p 19, cf ibid p 14).

While one would not accept the theory of two authors, it is significant that van der Ploeg considers Cols. 1, 15-19 as belonging to the original writing (ibid pp 19f), thus giving a certain primacy to the eschatological theme.

Another valid point made by van der Ploeg is that this original writing would have been very close to the apocalyptic writings (Dan 11.40 - 12.3; Ezk 38-19), and inspired by them (ibid p 20).

Van der Ploeg dates this "primitive Scroll" to the time of the Maccabaeen wars (ibid p 23).

- (638) Yadin, "Scroll", pp 19,36; Davies, op.cit. pp 25f,115,118foot-119 .

For the six initial years as preparatory, vide supra p 127 & note (470).

- (639) F.-M. Abel, op.cit. p 256; Yadin, "Scroll" p 44 n6;
J. van der Ploeg, op.cit. pp 81f.
- (640) Davies, op.cit. p 61 (cf JTS 23 1972 p 121).
 77v : 1 QM 1.16; 2.1,3,7,9,15; 3.2,4,11,12; 4.9,15; 15.1; 12.8.
 Note especially the designation of the combined fighting force of
 angels (77v) and men (757p), 1 QM 1.10; (for 77p as the
 cultic levy, cf supra, note (205)).
 For 7x2v, note 1 QM 1.5 (cf 1.12; 10.2b) and especially the
 inscription on the banner of the whole congregation, 3.12b; cf supra
 p 150.
- (641) F.-M. Abel, op.cit. p 57.
- (642) Cf 1 QM 2.16(restored); cf supra p 128. Note also Osten-Sacken,
op.cit. pp 65,216,218; cf Davies, op.cit. p 56.
- (643) Davies, op.cit. p 63.
- (644) Davies, op.cit. p 62.
 The Qumran battle-strategy is noted by Davies (ibid pp 43,56top,
 62foot-63), but only brief reference is made to the possible
 relation of this strategy to Maccabaeian tactics (ibid p 63).
- (645) F.-M. Abel, p 90.
- (646) The reference in 1 QM 10.1b; 12.10a(=19.3a) to God taking booty
is essentially part of the portrayal of the deity as a warrior.
- (647) M. Avi-Yonah, The War of the Sons of Light and Maccabaeian
Warfare, IES 2 1952 p 4.
- (648) Maccabaeian use of trumpets in battle is attested by Josephus,
Ant. XII 7.5; 8.3 (noted by Yadin, "Scroll" p 111 & ibid n5).
- (649) Cf Yadin, "Scroll" p 110 n4.
- (650) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. p 66; cf G. von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, pp 81f.
 Something of this liturgical tradition may, however, be discerned in
 the role of the seven priests in the narrative of the Battle of
 Jericho.
- (651) For the hymnic material of the Scroll, cf supra pp 170-174,177-179.
 That praise is part of the pre-battle supplication of God is
 illustrated in the following passages of the Scroll :
 10.8b-9a,12b-15; 12.6-9a; 12.9b-15 = 19.2b-8 — Davies characterises
 this hymn as "an extended war-cry", the origin of which may go back
 to Nu 10.35 (Davies, op.cit. p 103); 12.16-17; 13.2b-3,7-9a,12b-13a,
 13b-16; 14.8b-9a,12b-15,16-17; cf 18.9b-13.
 Furthermore, Davies (op.cit. p 123) considers that many of the hymns
 reflect a Maccabaeian setting.
- (652) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. p 66.
 In another respect, namely, the prominent role of cultic functionaries
 (cf supra, note (594)), the Scroll agrees with the Chronicler against
 Maccabees.

- (653) Davies, op.cit. p 35, suggests that the inscriptions originated with the banners and that the practice was extended to other military equipment. Davies pertinently remarks: "such a development is quite probably theoretical and would not need to reflect actual Israelite military practice".

The possible influence of banner inscriptions on those of the trumpets may be seen in two instances. The inscription on the trumpets for calling the skirmishers ("Vengeful remembrance at the appointed time of God", 3.7) combines the banner inscriptions: "Appointed time of God" (4.7) and "Vengeance of God" (4.12). Similarly, the inscription on the trumpets for the way of return ("Rejoicings of God in peaceful return", 3.11) combines the banner inscriptions: "Joy of God" and "Peace of God" (4.14).

For examples of resemblance between inscriptions, see Table C, supra p 213.

- (654) It is also noteworthy that the elements of this slogan form the components of the name Eleazar (2 M 8.23; cf Abel, op.cit. Comm. ad loc).

As the equivalent of *Jeou Bon Israel* Yadin ("Scroll" p 58 n1) and Davies (op.cit. p 64top) suggest the inscription *יְהוֹ בִּנְיִי* ("Deliverance of God", 1 QM 4.13); in the same line of the Scroll we may also compare *יְהוֹ בִּנְיִי* ("Support of God").

- (655) M.H. Segal, Scripta Hierosolymitana 4 1958 pp 139f; Osten-Sacken, op.cit. pp 40, 67, 72; Davies, op.cit. pp 59, 64f; cf also: M. Burrows, "DSS" 1956 p 292; W.R. Farmer, op.cit. pp 160f, 171; Bo Reicke, JBL 79 1960 pp 144-147.

With reference to historical setting, Davies (op.cit. p 59) supports the observation of M.H. Segal (op.cit. p 141; cf M. Avi-Yonah, IES 2 1952 p 5) that the enemy nations mentioned in 1 QM 1.1-2a had no political existence after the Roman occupation, but existed in the Maccabaeian period.

The "offenders against the covenant" (1 QM 1.2a; Dan 11.32) and the Kittim of Asshur (as Seleucids) (1 QM 1.2a) would also seem to indicate the Maccabaeian period.

- (656) Note for example: J. van der Ploeg, op.cit. pp 9foot-10, 24; M.H. Segal, op.cit. pp 140, 143; Davies, op.cit. pp 60-63.

- (657) G. von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p 84.

- (658) Davies, op.cit. p 90, concludes that "the advent of the Romans in Palestine was the major factor in the production of the war-rule of XV-XIX".

- (659) See especially, Osten-Sacken, op.cit. pp 34top, 39foot-40, 66; cf M.H. Segal, op.cit. pp 138ff.

- (660) F.-M. Abel suggests (op.cit. Comm. ad loc) that the objects may have been stolen from the temple at Jamnia. We may also compare the episode of Achan's sin (Josh 7; cf supra p 29). Cf supra, note (389).

- (661) If 2 M 12.38 is taken to indicate the prohibition of fighting on the Sabbath (in contrast to the more realistic narrative of 1 M 2.41; cf supra p 103), we may compare the idealistic provision in 1 QM 2.6, 8b-9a for Sabbatical years during the course of the forty years' war; cf Yadin, "Scroll" p 20 n1.

(662) F.-M. Abel suggests that the reason for journeying some 15 km., from the battle-field was to avoid being attacked on the Sabbath (op.cit. Comm. ad loc).

(663) The reference to the Law as the object and focal point of their dedication does not detract from the warrior quality of the men concerned. Not only is the context one of mustering forces, the Hasidaeans are, in the same passage, designated "mighty men" (the Greek *ἰσχυροὶ δυνάμει* corresponding to *שִׁיטִימִי*).

Further, it is important to note that dedication to the Law is a fundamental feature of the Qumran community; cf 1 QS 1.7 (vide W.H. Brownlee, BASOR 10-12 1951 p 7.n13; M. Black, "Scrolls" pp 118,120; M. Burrows, "DSS" 1956, pp 235,245).

(664) For the taking up of the "free-willing" motif in 1 QS, vide Osten-Sacken, op.cit. pp 219-220.

(665) M. Hengel (op.cit. p 287) pertinently characterises the War Scroll as "a unique mixture of military realism and apocalyptic phantasy".

W.R. Farmer's appraisal of the Qumran community is also noteworthy:

".... in the Qumran community we are dealing with a group of Jewish patriots for whom there is absolutely no conflict between religion and patriotism, piety and nationalism, prayer and the sword" (op.cit. p 169).

For his discussion of the religious motivation of Jewish nationalism in the Seleucid and Roman periods, vide Farmer, *ibid* pp 186,191-196.

Farmer's phrase "apocalyptic zealotism" (*ibid* p 196) aptly sums up the spirit and ethos of 1 QM and its hasidic background.

Although apocalyptic and eschatological overtones are largely lacking in First and Second Maccabees, we must take into account the apocalyptic and eschatological view-point of the writer of Daniel and the hasidic circle of influence in which that book had its origins (cf M. Hengel, op.cit. p 159).

Thus, the continuity of the apocalyptic tradition is an important link between the Hasidaeian movement and 1 QM.

In this connection, Osten-Sacken notes the view of O. Plöger that the Hasidaeans cultivated the eschatological-apocalyptic tradition in post-exilic Judaism (Osten-Sacken, op.cit. p 71).

Conversely, F.M. Cross (Ancient Library of Qumran, 1958 p 147 - noted by Bo Reicke, JBL 1960 p 144) regards the Essenes of Qumran as the most important bearers of the Jewish apocalyptic tradition.

(666) Cf Yadin, "Scroll" p 26.

As we have seen (supra, note (655)) the inclusion of renegade Jews along with these particular nations allows Segal to date the passage to the Maccabaeian period.

(667) An alternative Septuagint rendering of the Hebrew *שִׁיטִימִי*, *υἱοὶ λοιμοί*, appears in parallel in 1 M 10.61 (cf supra, note (431)).

(668) The term *שִׁיטִימִי* in the Old Testament is an abstract with the basic connotation "worthless". Significantly, the Septuagint has already interpreted the term more specifically as meaning transgression of the Law.

(669) The significant innovation is pointed out by J. Becker (vide supra note (515)).

- (670) Osten-Sacken and Davies note the opinion of C.-H Hunzinger (ZAW 69, 1957 p 149) that 1 QM 14 compared with the parallel text of 4 QMa presents a more restricted understanding of the people of God; (Osten-Sacken, op.cit. p 105; Davies, op.cit. pp 84, 86foot-87).
- (671) By contrast, the forty years' war outlines in Col. 2 envisages the mobilisation of all the tribes of Israel (2.7). In keeping with the nationalistic tone of Col. 2, we find similar references elsewhere: cf 5.1; 6.10b; according to 3.13a the names of the twelve tribes are inscribed on the great banner of the people.
- (672) Yadin rightly notes the influence of Isaiah 11.11-16 (Yadin, "Scroll" pp 33f).
- (673) The appellation is not found in the Old or New Testament.
- (674) It is also significant for the relation between the Hasidaeans and the faithful of the Scroll that the Hebrew term **ד'7'ד7** is probably the ultimate source of the name Essene (see especially, M. Black, "Scrolls" pp 13-15).
- (675) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. pp 84-85top.
For Osten-Sacken's assessment of the light/darkness eschatological dualism in 1 QM, vide supra p 153.
In particular, Osten-Sacken considers the light/darkness terminology of the Scroll to have been taken up from the Old Testament eschatological (especially Day of Yahweh) tradition (op.cit. pp 84top, 239). Furthermore, he sees the Hasidaeans of the Maccabean period as the forerunners of the Qumran community and as the original bearers of the dualistic tradition of the War Scroll (ibid p 241).
- (676) Opposition to the Hasmonaeen priesthood may be indicated in the deliberate use of the title "chief priest" in the War Scroll; vide Yadin, "Scroll" pp 207f.
- (677) Cf M. Hengel, op.cit. pp 251f; Osten-Sacken, op.cit. pp 33f.
- (678) The Scroll passage and 1 M 9.27 have an additional linguistic detail in common, namely, the inclusion of the adjective "mighty"/"great" which is not present in Dan 12.1.
- (679) For the sectarians as an atoning community, cf:
M. Burrows, More Light on the DSS, 1958 p 369; Lucetta Mowry, DSS and the Early Church, 1962 pp 46, 221; N. Wieder, Judaean Scrolls and Karaism, 1962 pp 113, 117; M. Black, in The Scrolls and Christianity, SPCK Theol. Collections 11 1969, pp 101, 102.
E. Lohse, Märtyrer und Gottesknecht, FRLANT New Series 46 1955, deals with atonement concepts in the Old Testament and late Judaism, but does not examine the Qumran literature.
Note also in this connection the discussion of the term **17**, supra pp 156f.
- (680) Note especially, E. Lohse, op.cit. pp 29-30, 66.
- (681) Osten-Sacken, op.cit. pp 63f.
It is important to observe, however, that the situation of the "people of God" without the Temple is also part of the experience of the Qumran sectarians. The latter have deliberately contracted out of Temple worship; their purificatory rites replace Temple

sacrifices; their offering of themselves to God is construed as holy offerings; (cf M. Brownlee, BASOR 10-12, ad 1 QS 9.4end-5 & n7; 1 QS 1.2 & n5).

Note especially, M. Black, "Scrolls" pp 40-42; L. Mowry, op.cit. pp 221f, 225; and for the idea of the community as temple, M. Black, "Scrolls" p 42.

- (682) Essentially the Scroll is dealing with battle procedure; its liturgical ordinances are closely linked with the immediate battle context. Ritual preparation as such would properly belong to a much earlier (pre-battle) stage; (cf Yadin's suggestion with reference to the Deuteronomic exemptions, "Scroll", pp 69f).

In addition, the Scroll's emphasis on the cultic fitness of the warriors might presuppose a formal ceremony of preparation.

- (683) For discussion of a possible vestige of the ancient use of the sacred "lot", vide supra pp 150-152.

- (684) That the compilation of the War Scroll is structured upon Scriptural authority may be supported by the key quotations of Old Testament passages.

For quotations of the Deuteronomic war code, note:

- 1 QM 7.6a : Dt 23.11(EVV10); 1 QM 7.6b-7 : Dt 23.13(EVV12);
1 QM 10.1-2a : cf Dt 23.15(EVV14); 1 QM 10.2b-5a : Dt 20.2-5a .

A key passage, Nu 10.1,9, is quoted in 1 QM 10.6b-8a (for the influence of Nu 10.9 on the "remembrance trumpets", cf supra p 131).

The encouragement address in 1 QM 15.7b-9a takes up essential phraseology of the ancient war-speech : cf Josh 10.25; 2 Sam 2.7a; 13.28end; Dt 20.3b; 31.6b,7a,8b; 2 Chr 32.7a .
(Cf supra, note (559)).

Especially significant is the quotation of Isaiah 31.8 in 1 QM 11.11b-12, and of the Balaam oracle (Nu 24.17-19) in 1 QM 11.6-7 (cf supra p 172).

In addition, we may note the vital importance of Scripture in the life of the Qumran community. The study, transcription, and (in the Commentaries) the interpretation of Scripture, indicates that the written word of God had a relevant and contemporary meaning for the people of the Scrolls.

- (685) Yadin, "Scroll", p 114, notes significantly some correspondence between the specification of certain items of Scroll weaponry and holy vessels described in the Pentateuch; (cf also, Yadin ibid. Comm. ad 1 QM 5.6 "shield").

- (686) It must be borne in mind that it was a priestly family which inspired and led the Maccabaeen Revolt. According to 1 M 2.23-27, the first blow was struck by a priest in a rural community; significantly, this is connected by the writer with Phinehas (Nu 25.6-15; cf supra p 106 & note (423)).

- (687) Davies, op.cit. p 96; cf Yadin, "Scroll", pp 212-214.

- (688) Yadin, "Scroll", pp 230, 231f.

- (689) Davies, op.cit. p 101. Davies cites 2 M 10.29 and 11.10. It must be noted, however, that the references in these passages are to five heavenly horsemen who allied themselves to Judas (2 M 10.29f) and to one heavenly rider who appeared at the head of the

Jewish army (2 M 11.8,10). Nevertheless, insofar as the Maccabaeans fought along side the heavenly horsemen, we may see in the Maccabaeans concept and portrayal a definite link with the more extensive presentation of angelic armies in the Scroll.

(690) Yadin, "Scroll", p 240.

At the same time the idea of angelic protection may also be present. The purpose of the shield-bearers, as Yadin himself notes (Comm. ad 9.14), is to protect the men within the "tower" formations. In this case, we may compare 2 M 10.30a according to which the five heavenly horsemen surround and protect Judas.

(691) Cf supra pp 186f., and in particular, Osten-Sacken, op.cit. pp 96f.

(692) Yadin, "Scroll", pp 235f.

(693) Osten-Sacken draws attention to the use of the adverb **לח** and/or the preposition **ע** in 1 QM with reference to the communion of angels and men, and finds significant use of **לח** as adverb, substantive and verb (+ **ע**) in 1 QH, and as substantive (+ **ע**) in 1 QS 11.8; 1 Qsb 4.25f., (Osten-Sacken, op.cit. pp 223f).

Osten-Sacken further suggests that the use of **לח** (subst.) as a designation for the community may derive from the concept of a communion of angels with men (ibid p 224 n5).